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The Forum

EDITED BY FREDERIC TABER COOPER

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1907

AMERICAN POLITICS
The Next Presidential Compaign . . By HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Ironies of Peace and War . . . . By A. MAURICE LOW

FINANCE
The Fall in the World's Markets . . . By ALEXANDER D. NOYES

APPLIED SCIENCE
The Development of Power as a Manufactured Product By HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK
How Teachers Spend the Summer and the Rewards they Receive By OSSIAN H. LANG

THE DRAMA
The Psychology of Theatre Audiences . . . By CLAYTON HAMILTON
After Ibsen? . . . . . By JAMES HUNEKER

LITERATURE
Raleigh's Shakespeare . . . . . By FRANK MOORE COLBY
Shakespeare Seen with Common Sense . . By WALTER CLAYTON
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CONTENTS

PAGE

AMERICAN POLITICS

THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

President Roosevelt's Position—Business Interests will dominate Politics—Radical Sentiment in South and West—The Tariff Question an Issue—Democratic Victory will Block Tariff Revision—The Struggle for the Republican Nomination—No Candidate yet in the Field against Mr. Bryan—The Southern States and Mr. Bryan—Party Lines in Demoralized Condition—Federal Judges and their Power—Prohibition a Political Issue. *By Henry Litchfield West* 149

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IRONIES OF PEACE AND WAR

The Veil of the Far East—Japan quietly absorbs Korea—Korea Forces Japan's Hand—The Kaiser Cries "Check"—Will France Claim Morocco?—Edward the Peacemaker—The League of Peace—A New Triple Alliance—Japan Quiets French Fears—Russia and Japan Agree—Portsmouth and After—Will Germany and France Embrace?—The Most Pathetic Figure in Europe. *By A. Maurice Low* 166

FINANCE

THE FALL IN THE WORLD'S MARKETS

The Midsummer Recovery—The Standard Oil Case and the Markets—The "Roosevelt Argument"—High Money in London—Beginning of Trade Embarrassment—Reduction of Railway Dividends—New York City's Bonds—The Crops—As to Trade Reaction.
By Alexander D. Noyes 186

APPLIED SCIENCE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POWER AS A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT

Power not Produced by the Lower Animals—Animal Power First Employed by Man—Wind, Water and Steam Power—Power-driven

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Machinery—Consumption of Natural Stores of Energy—Renewable Sources of Power—Hydro-Electric Power Development—The Economics of Water Conservation—Combustion Motors—Gas Power from Low-Grade Fuels—The Large Gas Engine—Power from Waste Furnace Gases—The Commercial Exploitation of Power—Gas from Coal-Mining Districts—Central Gas Power Stations—Marine Power—Social Influences of the Manufacture of Power.

By Henry Harrison Suplee 208

THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

How Teachers Spend the Summer and the Rewards they Receive

"Short Hours"—The Scope of Teaching—Exacting Duties—The Vacation—"Vacation" Labors—Why They Teach—Financial Demands—Who Pays for the Worry?—Antecedents of Teachers—The Best Passed on to Posterity—Educational Conventions—The Montreal Meeting—The N. E. A.—Educational Investigations—Simple Spelling—Art and Industry—Principles and Aims. *By Ossian H. Lang* 220

THE DRAMA

The Psychology of Theatre Audiences

The Drama and the Crowd—The Crowd Defined—The Necessary Struggle—The Crowd's Partisanship—Its Credulity—Its Emotional Contagion—Its Sensuousness—Its Conservatism—The Theatre Audience Heterogeneous—The Dramatist's Breadth of Appeal—A Mob of Women—The Audience Inattentive—Recreation *vs.* Edification—First Night Critics. *By Clayton Hamilton* 234

After Ibsen?

The Legacy of Ibsen—In Germany—In Italy—In Sweden, Holland, Hungary and Poland—In Spain and England—Pinero, Jones and Shaw—In America—Has Ibsen a Successor?—Maeterlinck, and Recent French Dramatists. *By James Huneker* 248

LITERATURE

Shakespeare and Shakespeareans *By Frank Moore Colby* 255

Shakespeare Seen with Common Sense *By Walter Clayton* 259

Richard Wagner—Business Man *By Edward Ziegler* 262

Mr. Hewlett and His Work *By Edward Clark Marsh* 266

Sonnets *By Robert R. Logan* 270

SPECIAL ARTICLES

A Social View of Language *By George Philip Krapp* 272

Korea—An Example of National Suicide *By Edwin Maxey* 281

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The Forum

OCTOBER, 1907

AMERICAN POLITICS

THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BY HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST

SLOWLY but surely the lines are being tightened for the next Presidential campaign. President Roosevelt, speaking in no uncertain voice, has done much toward clearing the atmosphere. There is to be a more determined effort to regulate the railroads along national lines and an equally insistent endeavor to curb the corporations which fatten and thrive at the expense of the public. "Once for all," is Mr. Roosevelt's declaration, "let me say that as far as I am concerned and for the eighteen months of my administration that remain, there will be no change in the policy we have steadily pursued, no let-up in the effort to secure the honest observance of the law, for I regard this contest as one to determine who shall rule this Government—the people, through their governmental agents, or a few ruthless and determined men whose wealth makes them particularly formidable because they hide behind the breastworks of corporate organization."

President Roosevelt's Position

This utterance of the President came as a climax to a remarkable series of events. The prosecution of the Standard Oil Company, the greatest monopoly in the world, led to the imposition by Judge Landis of the maximum fine of $29,240,000 for 1,400 violations of the law. The immensity of the fine staggered the country. It was a demonstration of the purpose of the court to punish heavily those who held the law in disregard, and it gave a rude shock to those whose identification with other trusts rendered them also liable to severe penalty. Serious disturbance in money centres immediately followed. Stocks tumbled in value and a

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panic reigned. There was no real reason for the depreciation. The railroads were carrying as much freight and as many passengers as before; the manufactories were still busy; the farmers in the West were harvesting abundant crops. President Roosevelt directly charged that the shrinkage in the price of stocks was due to the manipulation of men who control the market. "It may well be," he said in his Provincetown speech, "that the determination of the Government, in which it will not waver, to punish certain malefactors of great wealth, has been responsible for something of the troubles, at least to the extent of having caused these men to combine to bring about as much financial stress as they possibly can in order to discredit the policy of the Government and thereby to secure a reversal of that policy so that they may enjoy the fruits of their own evil doing."

These were bold words and, in the very nature of things, contained a charge which it would be difficult to substantiate. No one who knows President Roosevelt, however, believes that he would have made such an assertion without adequate foundation; and, as a matter of fact, the comment which followed the utterance demonstrated that he had, at least, given voice to a popular belief. Secretary Taft took occasion to refer to the same subject in his Columbus address. "If the prosecution of dishonesty and illegal practices," he said, "like the giving and taking of rebates and the destruction of competition by monopoly, is to injure the market for stocks on the stock exchange, then this is a burden that must be borne and must be charged, not to the head of the nation, whose duty it is to enforce the law, but to the violators of the law, whose pursuit of criminal methods has been so successful and far-reaching as to make their prosecution a serious threat against the stability of the market." And Mr. Taft added that the President did not intend to raid all corporations, but that "his only policy and sworn duty is to prosecute, with the fullest vigor, the corporations and individuals whose flagrant violations of the law make it necessary to do so."

The men who have amassed wealth through the operations of monopolistic corporations are blind to the handwriting on the wall if they do not realize that the great mass of American citizens are heartily in accord with the President's position. Viewed from a popular standpoint, it is impregnable. Honest corporations have nothing to fear; dishonest corporations are to feel the heavy hand of the law. If the President was a candidate for re-election, which he is not, he could well afford to go before the country upon this platform.

Amid all the smoke and disturbance which the past three months have

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witnessed, one fact stands prominent. During the many years wherein no President had the temerity to charge the huge corporations with wrong-doing, these trusts accumulated an amount of wealth which makes them practical masters of the financial situation. They can raise or lower prices of stocks by their manipulation of the market; they can cause a money stringency by refusing accommodation to the provincial banks, which are dependent upon the big institutions in the money centres; they hold, in fact, the financial situation in the hollow of their hands. It is an enormous contract to undertake to dislodge this powerful element; it is even dangerous to arouse its enmity; and one can well understand the hesitation and inaction which characterized Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors. The deed has now, however, been done; the gauntlet has been thrown down; and, as in 1896, business affairs will be uppermost in the next Presidential campaign. There will be no discussion of, nor fight over, abstract principles. The pocket nerve, which the late Mark Hanna said was the tenderest part of a man's anatomy, is to be touched. There may be some patriotic pyrotechnics in the party platforms, some references to high ideals; but these will be words, mere words. Underlying all will be the practical considerations of corporations and dividends, of prices and the cost of living, of work and wages. These are the things which will stir men's hearts in the next campaign.

Business Interests Will Dominate Politics as in 1896

Commercialism, which now dominates everything and relegates sentiment to the trash-heap, was the paramount factor in 1896, when the dollar was elevated to the highest pinnacle, not only as the party emblem, but as the height of every man's ambition. This spirit of commercialism is to-day more rampant than ever. The managers of the great corporations—the men whose actions in the handling of life insurance funds and whose manipulation of railroads, as in the Alton affair, aroused wholesale condemnation—must, however, remember that there is one important point of difference between the situation which existed in 1896 and the condition which now presents itself. In 1896 every small property-owner and every man who had a dollar in a savings bank was told and really believed that his frugally acquired store was threatened. The free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one might cause him serious loss. He voted, therefore, on the side of safety. During the past few years, however, these thrifty persons have been unable, even by the exercise of closest economy, to add to their meagre store, while in many cases the savings of years have disappeared. The cost of living has increased enormously and there has been no proportionate rise in wages. There is, in consequence, throughout the country to-day an intense antipathy to the

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trusts, because the latter are blamed, whether wrongfully or rightfully, with having ruthlessly extorted millions of dollars out of the pockets of the consumer. The average voter will hail with delight any movement which tends to curtail their enormous profits and will support any candidate who pledges himself to prosecute the task which President Roosevelt has undertaken. The battle is to be of the individual against intrenched corporate monopoly; and unless the signs of the times are strangely misleading, the individuals will be successful.

Radical Sentiment in the South and West

It is this feeling, so universally prevalent, which is the basis of the demand for President Roosevelt's renomination; it is this condition of affairs which makes Secretary Taft so popular because he gives assurances that he will, if elected, continue the policies which President Roosevelt has inaugurated. It is true that in New York, and especially in Wall Street, there is much denunciation of the President and an effort to treat his policies with scorn. New York and Wall Street are, however, proverbially inaccurate indicators of popular sentiment. The West and South are practically unanimous for a more vigorous regulation of corporations than has yet been undertaken. There was recently held in St. Louis a conference of the attorneys-general of several States to devise ways and means for further restriction of corporations. Every one knows of the attitude which the Southern States have adopted toward the railroads. In North Carolina the enforcement of the two-cent-per-mile rate led to a serious conflict between the State and federal courts. In Alabama, because the Southern Railway appealed from the State to the federal court in violation of a State statute, the license of the road was revoked, and if a compromise had not been reached, the State authorities would actually have prevented the operation of trains. In Arkansas, because the Rock Island Railroad sought the protection of a federal court in opposition to the State law, the Attorney-General of the State declared the road liable to a fine of $1,000 a day, and proceeded to forfeit its right to do business in the State, being halted finally by an injunction. In Virginia the railroads were also in conflict with the State authorities, but finally agreed to accept the two-cent rate imposed by law. In Georgia the successful candidate for the governorship was openly hostile to the railroads, and in Mississippi the same situation prevailed.

All these incidents point unerringly and conclusively to the character of the campaign which will be waged next year. The cry will be, "Down with the trusts," and in some degree it will be as bitter as the outcry of the French populace against the monarchy. The trouble is that these

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trusts have flourished so long and have become so flagrant and unscrupulous in their treatment of the public that they have nobody to blame but themselves for the reaction which has set against them. The sentiment is now so intense that it will be only necessary to prove at the next Republican National Convention that one candidate or another is a friend of the monopolistic and law-breaking corporations and the defeat of that candidate will be accomplished. He will be in the same position as the candidates before the Democratic National Convention of 1896 who espoused the single gold standard.

In the West and Northwest the same sentiment prevails, the action of the Governor of Wisconsin in unhesitatingly signing a two-cent railroad rate bill being an indication of the attitude of the people toward corporations. There is, of course, more conservatism in the East, although the enactment of the public utilities commission bill by the New York legislature demonstrated the drift of public opinion. Governor Hughes, however, vetoed the two-cent rate bill on the ground that it was within the power of the public utilities commission to fix passenger fares and freight rates if, on inquiry, the existing rates and fares are found to be unjust and exorbitant; and also because the enactment of the law "was not preceded by legislative investigation or suitable inquiry under the authority of the State." Governor Hughes took the high ground that "injustice on the part of railroad corporations toward the public does not justify injustice on the part of the State toward the railroad corporations," and he added, in dealing with the important questions of the relations of earnings and expenses, "Democracy must demonstrate its capacity to act upon deliberation and to deal justly." All of which is self-evident; and yet it must be remembered that Governor Hughes is the only State executive who has had the courage to veto a two-cent fare bill.

There is one point of difference between the Republican position, as exemplified by Mr. Roosevelt, and the Democratic idea, as stated by Mr. Bryan, in this matter of dealing with the railroad problem. In his Indianapolis speech, the President indicated that the rate was not the most essential result to be attained. "Ample, safe, and rapid transportation facilities," he said, "are even more necessary than cheap transportation;" while, with much emphasis, he condemned over-capitalization. Mr. Bryan, however, insists that if there is not enough equipment to do the business which is offered, the suspicion is that the money paid in by the public has gone into dividends when it ought to have been used in the purchase of equipment. He also asserts that although many States had reduced the rate to two cents, the interstate rate remains at three cents, and, therefore, "Congress should pass a law compelling the

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railroads to sell through tickets for a sum not greater than the sum of the local rates." Mr. Bryan, in brief, would make the rate, and not merely the regulation, of railroads, an issue. The action of a dozen or more State legislatures demonstrates that such an issue would meet with a popular response.

The Tariff Question will be an Issue

The control of corporations and the regulation of railroads are not to be the only business-disturbing issues in the next Presidential campaign. The tariff question is to be fought out between the parties; and, pending the result of the election, manufacturing interests will trim their sails close to the wind. The history of 1893 is likely to repeat itself, although, happily, in less degree.

The tariff issue forges to the front for several reasons, principal among which are the immense surplus in the national treasury and the existence of the trusts. At the close of the fiscal year the revenues of the Government exceeded the expenditures by $87,000,000. In 1887, when President Cleveland wrote his famous message concerning the Federal revenues, the surplus was only $55,000,000, yet even that amount was regarded by Mr. Cleveland as excessive. "The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people," he wrote, "is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the treasury through the perversion of governmental powers." This is not a Democratic doctrine alone. It is shared by large numbers of people who believe in the principle of protection and yet do not believe that the principle ought to be exercised to their detriment. The Democratic position was recently expressed by Senator Bailey, of Texas, when he said that the tariff was now bearing upon the people with heavier exaction than ever before. Inasmuch as the revenue from the tariff was $33,000,000 more last year than during the previous twelve months, and as a large portion of this increase is shown by a recent writer on the subject to have been collected from raw materials used in manufacture or from manufactures used in further manufacture, there is apparent ground for the demand for lower tariff taxes. "Put the surplus in the pockets of the people and not in the federal treasury," is to be the Democratic campaign cry.

In a letter addressed to Representative Watson, of Indiana, more than a year ago, President Roosevelt made this assertion:

> **The question of revising the tariff stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the so-called "trusts"—that is, with the control of monopolies and with the supervision of great wealth in business, especially in corporate form.**

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In the popular mind, however, the two questions are not wholly apart. The President may be right in his assertion that the problem of the trusts cannot be solved by changing the tariff; but there is, nevertheless, a very general desire to try the experiment. The sugar and steel trusts are, of course, the most flagrant illustrations of tariff-fostered monopolies, while the glass trust and the silk trust have also been made possible by high protective schedules. Secretary Taft fully appreciates the popular sentiment. In his speech at Columbus, wherein he advocated tariff revision, he suggested that in due time the respective committees of the House and Senate would undertake an exhaustive inquiry into the cost of production in this country and the cost of production abroad, together with the conditions existing in each trade. "If it shall turn out that popular opinion," he said, "should prove to be unfounded, then the revision of the tariff will be confined to minor irregularities." "But if," he significantly added, "the result of the investigation justifies the report of the National Association of Manufacturers, then the revision of the excessive schedules should be substantial, and the motive for the organization and maintenance of unlawful trusts to monopolize the manufacture and sale of articles in such schedules should be taken away." It will be surprising if investigation does not show that this latter condition exists.

Democratic Victory will Block Tariff Revision

The Republican party is already pledged to conduct its next campaign upon the promise that after the election the tariff will be revised. The Democratic party does not question the sincerity of this promise, but it does doubt the thoroughness of the proposed revision. On the very threshold of the contest, however, we are confronted with a most singular paradox. The only way to prevent a revision of the tariff will be to elect a Democratic President and a Democratic House of Representatives. Democratic victory in 1908 will not only fail to secure any revision, but it will fasten the present schedules securely upon the country for the next four years. This paradox is explained by the fact that the Senate is not only Republican in its majority at the present time, but will continue beyond peradventure to be Republican until 1912. Out of the ninety members of the Senate, only thirty-two are Democrats, and only a political revolution of the most remarkable nature will materially increase this number during the next four years. This Republican Senate will stand as a bulwark against any legislation emanating from a politically hostile House.

This condition of affairs suggests another curious situation. If it be true, as many believe, that the present high tariff schedules are responsible

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for the creation and maintenance of great monopolies, it will be easy enough for these beneficiaries to continue in the enjoyment of their plunder by simply securing the election of a Democratic administration. They would help to administer an apparent rebuke to President Roosevelt, whom they hate with bitter hatred, and they would save themselves from any possible harm. If a candidate pledged to a continuance of President Roosevelt's policies should be nominated by the Republicans, the corporations would undoubtedly endeavor to defeat him. They would have nothing to fear from a Democratic President, who could only fulminate in words against them and whose efforts to secure the enactment of hostile legislation would be pigeon-holed in a Republican Senate.

The Struggle for the Republican Nomination

Up to the present time, Secretary Taft is the only Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination who has openly avowed his endorsement of President Roosevelt's policies. He has ranged himself on the side of the progressive Republicans and hopes to recruit under his banner all those voters who believe in Mr. Roosevelt. Vice-President Fairbanks, touring through the West, has contented himself with more or less commonplace utterances, emphasizing his desire to be known as the candidate of the conservative wing of his party. There is no reason to change the prediction made in THE FORUM some months ago that the contest for the nomination will be between Mr. Taft and Mr. Fairbanks. In the first place, the candidate will probably come from the West. The party is not likely to honor the Eastern section twice in succession. In the last thirty years the Democrats and Republicans have only twice violated the programme of alternation. In 1876 the Democrats named Mr. Tilden, of New York; and in 1880 General Hancock, of Pennsylvania, was chosen. In 1896 the nomination of Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, followed the previous selection of Mr. Harrison, of Indiana. The probability is, therefore, that the Republicans will next year name a Western candidate, and for this reason the suggestion of the name of Governor Hughes, of New York, seems to lack logical foundation. He is much more likely to be given the second place on the ticket. If a New York Republican is, for advantageous reasons, decided upon, Secretary Cortelyou must be taken into consideration. He already enjoys the universal respect and esteem of the country, which has seen him fill subordinate positions with undeniable credit to himself; and in extent of acquaintance among the leading politicians of his party he is equalled by none. He is a man of the McKinley type, quiet, conservative, and tactful. Another Eastern candidate of con-

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siderable force is Senator Knox, who has already received the endorsement of his State. Although as Attorney-General he instituted legal proceedings against the Northwestern Railroad merger, he is not regarded as a radical, and his address at Yale demonstrated that he held conservative views as to the power of the federal Government in contradistinction to the rights of the States. He is a man of exceptional ability, with a clean record and undoubtedly popular.

If, however, the nomination should go to the West, which would be the natural order of things, Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Taft are the only figures who appear conspicuously on the horizon. Speaker Cannon, of Illinois, would be a popular candidate, but would probably be considered unavailable on account of his age; moreover he does not seem to be making a serious effort to secure the nomination. Mr. Taft is already sure of the Ohio delegation. The State Committee has eulogistically endorsed him, despite the strenuous opposition of Senator Foraker, and there is no doubt of his ability to hold his own until the delegates are chosen. It must also be borne in mind that the progressive element of the party have a decided advantage in having a definite candidate in Mr. Taft. He is their rallying point, while the conservatives are not united. This is their handicap; and it undoubtedly accrues to the benefit of the candidate upon whom Mr. Roosevelt's especial favor rests.

No Candidate yet in the Field against Mr. Bryan

On the Democratic side no one has yet appeared who seems able to wrest from Mr. Bryan the coveted nomination. Mr. Taft evidently regards Mr. Bryan as his future opponent, for in his Columbus speech he mentioned Bryan's name a score of times and undertook to measure lances with him on public questions. There is unquestionably considerable opposition to Mr. Bryan; but it does not seem to have crystallized, and certainly no one has yet been mentioned in Democratic councils whose name excites anything like universal attention. The attempt to revive Judge Parker, of New York, as a candidate can hardly be taken seriously. It is very doubtful whether he could secure the support of the delegation of his own State; and, besides, there was nothing in his last campaign to warrant promise of future success. Lieutenant-Governor Chanler, of New York, who is suggested, has no record of achievement to commend him. The South will not seriously present a candidate; and the outlook remains practically unchanged. If Bryan is to be discarded, there remain only the two men to whom reference has already been made in a previous issue of THE FORUM—Judge Gray, of Delaware, and Governor Johnson, of Minnesota. The

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former is a jurist of acknowledged ability. He is most conservative. He is safe and sane to the last degree, an ideal representative of the Democracy of the olden days; and yet it is almost certain that he would suffer the fate of Judge Parker in 1904, simply because the great mass of the Democracy as at present constituted would not vote for him. Governor Johnson, who is understood to be the "dark horse" in Henry Watterson's mind, comes nearer to meeting present conditions. He has made a remarkable record as a Democratic executive of a Republican State; he is advanced in his views, but not radical; and although little known in the East, has a large and enthusiastic following in the West. While not afraid to state his views, he cannot be charged with seeking notoriety. He believes that the slogan of the Democratic party in the next campaign and in every succeeding campaign until the question is settled, should be "a revision of the tariff," in which declaration 90 per cent. of the Democratic party agrees with him. He thinks that Mr. Bryan "has too many 'isms' to win an election," and is of the opinion that "the Government should do no business that can be done as well, or better, by private individuals." During his recent visit to the East, Governor Johnson made a most favorable impression. He spoke wisely and modestly, and gave evidence that his success in his own State was not the result of accident.

And yet if Mr. Bryan announces himself a candidate, the chances are that he will get the nomination merely for the asking.

The Southern States and Mr. Bryan

This assertion is made despite an apparently determined movement in the Southern States to prevent, if possible, the renomination of Mr. Bryan. It is a movement which deserves consideration, because if it should make headway, which is doubtful, it might result in shifting the political kaleidoscope.

In Virginia quite a number of the leading newspapers have united in an appeal for an early State convention in order that the Democrats of the State may go upon record as favoring a return to ancient Democratic principles and repudiating all forms of socialism, populism, and radicalism. In North Carolina the reactionary movement is endorsed by many influential and representative journals. In Tennessee the Nashville *American,* one of the most respected and thoughtful Southern newspapers, does not hesitate to express its opposition to Mr. Bryan. "The *American,*" it recently declared, "is opposed to the nomination of Mr. Bryan because it is firmly convinced that he cannot be elected." Its analysis of the situation is expressed with emphasis. "As a prophet," it says, "Mr. Bryan has been

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completely and thoroughly discounted. Added age, study, travel, and experience should have made him wiser and more practical, but he is as much of a dreamer and visionary as ever. Returning from his trip abroad, he astonished his friends by declaring for Government ownership of railroads. From all over the country protests from Democrats was heard, and nearly every Southern senator expressed disapproval. Mr. Bryan found that he had raised a storm, and began to hedge and explain; but his explanation and reference to the ultimate ownership of railroads by the Government cannot be otherwise than unsatisfactory to the South, which is, or should be, unalterably opposed to such a policy, for obvious reasons."

In Maryland, where Bryan has twice been repudiated in a Presidential election, Senator Rayner has thrown down the gauntlet to the Nebraska statesman, and would practically eliminate him from consideration. There are indications that in other Southern States something like a rebellion against Mr. Bryan is in its incipiency; and yet nothing definite has yet been accomplished to interfere seriously with the Bryan programme. It so happens that the writer has attempted to learn the drift of opinion in the very States where the opposition to Mr. Bryan is said to be most active, viz.: Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina; and in these three States the judgment of recognized leaders is that Mr. Bryan will get the support of those States in the next Democratic National Convention. Nor is the wish the father to the thought; but, on the contrary, the very men who express this opinion would be perfectly willing to see Mr. Bryan rejected. The fact is that the conditions which prevailed in 1896 and 1900 are repeated. The great mass of the rank and file are still loyal to Bryan. They would not vote for Judge Parker in 1904 because they wanted Bryan, and they are not going to be satisfied with any other candidate now. Take the situation in Kentucky, for instance. A convention was held recently in that State for the purpose of nominating a railroad commissioner, and was attended by delegates from a large number of the counties. Resolutions proclaiming Bryan as the leader next year were enthusiastically passed, and it now seems to be accepted that Kentucky's delegation will be pledged to him, even though Mr. Henry Watterson may desire another candidate. In 1896 Mr. Bryan lost the State, twelve of the thirteen electoral votes being cast for Mr. McKinley. In 1900 the plurality for Bryan was less than 8,000, and in 1904 Judge Parker carried the State by less than 12,000, whereas in the years preceding Mr. Bryan's candidacies the State was safely Democratic by a majority reaching as high as 50,000. Despite the fact, therefore, that Mr. Bryan's nomination

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almost jeopardizes the State from a Democratic point of view, the Kentucky Democrats again desire his nomination.

The situation thus outlined as existing in Kentucky is prevalent all over the United States. There is a devotion to Bryan which is marvellous and unprecedented. His defeats do not apparently diminish the number of his admirers, nor is the ardor of their devotion dampened by his errors. For instance, his endorsement of Government ownership of railroads was, to say the least, a most unfortunate utterance for him, and yet, when he sagaciously announced that this was not an immediate issue, his explanation was accepted and the episode ignored. His career has been without precedent in American political history. Eleven years have elapsed since he was raised from comparative obscurity to the high pinnacle of Presidential candidate, and yet to-day he is the pivot upon which his party revolves. He towers head and shoulders above any other member of his party in popular interest. His sayings and doings are chronicled with minute fidelity, while other men who have achieved some degree of fame are allowed to pass unnoticed. If there is any explanation of his remarkable eminence it lies in the fact that he does not content himself with rehearsing the traditions of the past. He is always reaching forward, always seeking a new path for his footsteps, always inscribing upon his banner some new idea. It is his activity and progressiveness that appeals to the rank and file of his party; and, curiously enough, this following would rather go down to defeat with him than eat at the banquet table without him.

Party Lines in Demoralized Condition

The effort which has been made by a leading New York newspaper to differentiate the principles of the Republican and Democratic parties has not met with complete success. Even Mr. Bryan, in his answer to the query, "What is a Democrat?" fails to give satisfying information. Here is his summary of his own definition:

> To recapitulate, a Democrat, according to a party definition, is a man who connects himself with the Democratic party and acts politically with those who bear the same party name. In a broader sense, he is a Democrat who believes in the rule of the people and who desires to make the Government the instrument in the hands of the people to carry out their will. Such a man trusts the people and favors such reforms as will give to the people an increasing power. And a real Democrat will not only favor Democratic methods in government and insist upon the right of the majority to rule, but will favor the administration of the Government in the interest of the whole people according to the Jeffersonian maxim, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

With all due respect to Mr. Bryan, the average man will agree with

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the *World* that the Democratic leader "is unable to frame a definition which distinguishes a Democrat from a Republican." Surely every American citizen is a Democrat in the sense that he is a believer in the fundamental axioms of popular government. And yet if we attempt to go into details, we are led into a most perplexing maze. If it be asserted that the principle of States' rights be essentially Democratic, we find Mr. Bryan advocating a federal child labor law, whereas if there was ever a subject which belongs exclusively to a State it is the regulation of the hours and conditions of labor within the State. Mr. Bryan is also the advocate of Government ownership of railroads, which is federalism developed to the last degree; he favors the election of senators by the people, which would subvert the integrity of the States as States; and he advocates the initiative and referendum, which is equally inharmonious with the idea of the legislative powers of the States. In speeches and interviews Mr. Bryan labels these ideas as "Democratic," but he must be aware that there are many Democrats who fail to agree with him in his classification. If a lower tariff be a tenet of Democratic faith, he will find a large number of Republicans holding the same view, while if he upholds strict adherence to the Constitution as another Democratic principle, he will find Senator Knox, a Republican candidate for the Presidency, standing with him on the same ground.

The fact is that it is extremely difficult to discern a line of demarcation between the two parties at the present time. Condemnation of the trusts is a common ground upon which both organizations stand; the regulation of railroads is a joint purpose, and a revision of the tariff is promised by both. It is not at all improbable that in the near future this country will see a breaking up of the present alignment and the voters ranging themselves not under the old party standards, but along lines which shall represent the radical and the conservative ideas in national Government. Party lines never were so loosely drawn as they are to-day, and never was it so difficult for any voter to explain the faith that is in him. The two leading parties have now existed longer than any other political organization in our history. They have held together under their old names, with their differences growing less and less marked, and to President Roosevelt must be given the credit of having done more than any other man to bring about this result. He has been a President of all the people, irrespective of party, and in thus breaking down the barriers he has created a personal following greater than that enjoyed by any of his predecessors. It will be interesting, when the national conventions assemble, to see how the platform makers will attempt to outline really vital points of difference between the parties. At present they do not seem to exist.

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Although the great battle of the people against the oppression of monopolistic corporations and against the encroachment of federal power may have its preliminary skirmish at the polls, the final word will be spoken in the highest courts. Some discussion, therefore, has naturally arisen concerning the manner in which the judges of the federal courts are selected. The Constitution, as every one knows, places the power of appointment in the hands of the President; and it has been suggested, notably by General Roger A. Pryor, of New York, that this system should be changed. He professes to see danger in the authority which is thus lodged with the executive, especially if the latter be a person of positive views. It is pointed out, for instance, that President Roosevelt has appointed three associate justices of the United States Supreme Court, twelve circuit court judges and forty-two district court judges. Some fear is expressed, therefore, that these appointees may even unconsciously give to all of Mr. Roosevelt's policies a legal force and effect not warranted by a strict construction of the Constitution.

Federal Judges and Their Power

The important part in public affairs which is now conceded to the federal judiciary is in strange contrast to the views entertained by the men who framed the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton held that the judiciary was incontestably the weakest of the three departments of power, and in one of the *Federalist* letters he spoke in the following terms:

> Whoever attentively considers the different departments of power must perceive that in a government in which they are separated from each other, the judiciary, from the nature of its functions, will always be the least dangerous to the political rights of the Constitution; because it will be least in a capacity to annoy or injure them. The executive not only dispenses the honors, but holds the sword of the community. The legislature not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated. The judiciary, on the contrary, has no influence over either the sword or the purse; no direction either of the strength or the wealth of the society; and can take no active resolution whatever. It may truly be said to have neither force nor will, but merely judgment; and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm for the efficacy of its judgments.

Hamilton, with all his prescience, evidently did not foresee the day in this country when judgment would receive more consideration than force or will; while the possibility of an executive controlling the country through the attitude of the federal judiciary upon public questions does not seem to have entered his mind. The fact is, however, that today the judiciary, instead of being the weakest of the three powers, is, in fact, the strongest. The Supreme Court of the United States occupies the highest pinnacle in our system of government. The na-

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tional legislature may enact, but, after all, it is the Supreme Court which gives final sanction to the statute; the President may execute, but the power of injunction resting with the courts can stay his hand; while it is in the power of any judge to thrust a citizen into jail upon the pretext that the latter has offended the dignity of the court. The practical operation of our system of government has completely changed the point of view which prevailed more than a hundred years ago; and it is no wonder that the method of appointing the judiciary now receives consideration. General Pryor's remedy is the election of the federal judiciary by the people. He believes that the judges, being thus removed from any feeling of personal gratitude to the executive appointing them, would not be unduly influenced. This may be true; but it is difficult to see how a judge elected by popular vote would be less independent than if appointed by the President. As soon as a candidate for a federal judgeship made known his determination to aspire to the bench, his opinions would be sought by the voters. He would be asked whether he favored the income tax or railroad rate reduction or the supremacy of the federal over the State court. His opinions would be discounted in stump speeches; or else we would have the spectacle of a candidate seeking elevation and preserving, meanwhile, the silence of the sphinx. No person who is to sit in judgment ought to be subjected to such catechism.

Much of the force with which General Pryor demands the election of federal judges is neutralized by the fact that up to the present time, at least, no President has dominated the judiciary. There have been insinuations in the past that courts have been "packed" by designing executives, but, happily, these insinuations have not been warranted by the facts. There is no evidence, even to-day, that any of the judges appointed by President Roosevelt intend to decide otherwise than in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. It may be that in the future some judge may reflect too faithfully the views and policies of an appointing officer; but even this would be preferable to the election of our judiciary when the shifting winds of public opinion were tempestuously sweeping over the land.

It is extremely doubtful whether any one who fails to follow the trend of political events has any adequate conception of the prominent part which prohibition has lately assumed as a political issue. The most recent significant event is, of course, the decision of the Oklahoma voters to establish prohibition in their State. This was preceded by the enactment by the Georgia legislature of a bill forbidding in that

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State the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, including beer, which bill became a law on August 6th last by the signature of Governor Hoke Smith and will go into effect on January 1st next. The measure passed the House by a vote of 139 to 39, and was ratified by the Senate by a vote of 34 to 7, these figures demonstrating the almost overwhelming trend of public sentiment. Georgia, however, is not the only Southern State wherein advocacy of prohibition is almost a *sine qua non* to political success. In Florida, during the last session of the legislature, a proposed constitutional amendment placing that State in the list of prohibition commonwealths received a majority of votes and failed of the requisite two-thirds only by the narrow majority of seven. Kentucky, where 97 out of 119 counties are "dry," has enacted a law which forbids the shipment of intoxicating liquors into any "dry" community, laws of similar effect having previously been passed in Mississippi, Georgia, Missouri and Arkansas. The latest so-called anti-shipping law, iron-clad in its provisions, has been enacted by the legislature of Alabama, which has also decreed that saloons in towns of less than 10,000 population shall close at seven o'clock in the evening and that no saloon anywhere in the State shall be open after nine o'clock. It is stated that the liquor interests agreed to these measures rather than face a complete prohibition measure.

Prohibition as a Political Issue

In Tennessee there is a movement on foot to compel the Democratic party, when it shall assemble in State convention next year, to declare for prohibition; and when it is remembered that 92 of the 96 counties in the State are "dry" and that 89 per cent. of the population resides in prohibition territory, the demand may compel recognition. Ex-Senator Carmack, a recognized Democratic leader in the State, recently delivered an address condemning saloons. Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, is authority for the statement that his State will soon declare for prohibition, and adds that the movement was under way and would have been carried to a successful conclusion even if Georgia had not taken action in the same direction. In Louisiana 61 out of the 75 counties have voted to abolish saloons. Virginia has also experienced the effect of the temperance wave and 72 of the 100 counties are "dry," while in the last primary for governor one of the candidates developed remarkable strength simply because he was a known prohibitionist. In fact, the vote all through the South shows that the prohibition element is a factor that must be reckoned with.

Nor is this movement confined to the South. The border States, like Maryland and Missouri, have recently demonstrated in local elections

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that prohibition is a very vital political issue; and Governor Folk, of the latter State, has recently commented favorably on the fact that no liquor is sold in 39 of the 76 counties in his commonwealth. Governor Hoch, of prohibition Kansas, recently emphasized his temperance views in a message to the legislature. North Dakota is another example of the spread of the prohibition sentiment in the Northwest, a State prohibition law, which is now thoroughly in force, having been enacted there. Iowa has 65 "dry" counties out of a total of 99; the Colorado legislature has enacted a local option law; the movement is spreading in Oregon; and even in California there is considerable prohibition sentiment. The Illinois legislature has just enacted a local option law which provides that upon the petition of one-fourth of the registered voters of a township, village, town or city, the question of the sale of liquor may be presented to the decision of the voters, and if the verdict be against the sale of liquor, the will of the majority becomes operative in thirty days and the question cannot again be submitted within eighteen months. In the Eastern part of the country we find local option in New York and New Jersey, while the temperance sentiment in New England has always been pronounced. In New Hampshire, where the State prohibition law of 1855 was modified into local option a few years ago, there is a movement to return to the old conditions.

This bird's-eye-view of the growth of prohibition as a political issue might be almost indefinitely extended. Enough has been shown, however, to demonstrate that it is a real factor. Curiously enough, it is most vital in the Southern States, which are dominated by the political organization characterized by Dr. Burchard as "the party of rum, Romanism and rebellion," and which has always uttered the loudest protest against sumptuary laws. The drift of popular sentiment has not escaped the attention of the men whose business interests are threatened; for during the recent convention of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association in Atlantic City, the prediction was freely made that next year the national platforms of both parties would seek to secure the increasing temperance vote by either directly advocating prohibition or else favoring summary restriction of the liquor traffic. If this prophecy should be realized it would mark a tremendous advance in public thought. The present prohibition sentiment, if it continues to increase, may be reflected in some declaration of a national party platform.

Henry Litchfield West.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

IRONIES OF PEACE AND WAR

BY A. MAURICE LOW

A STUDY of history is a lesson in the ironic. Kings have gone to war to keep the peace, and princes have preached the universal brotherhood of man and massacred their neighbors. Ironically appropriate then that, while the Hague Conference meets, shot and shell should play and the delegates should see the futility of the discussion of such Utopian projects as disarmament. Casablanca and Seoul have been the satiric comment on foolish mouthings. Once again force and progress have gone hand in hand, and civilization rides upon a gun carriage. This ought not to surprise any one except the professional Utopians, who are so busy in studying the clouds that they forget to read the signs of the earth.

The Veil of the Far East

When the Peace of Portsmouth was signed, which brought to an end the Russo-Japanese War and, among other things, was a recognition on the part of Russia that Japan had a more vital interest in Korea than any other people, not even excepting the Koreans themselves, it was obvious that the time must quickly come when Korea would cease to exist politically and fall under the domination of Japan. Nor is this surprising when one remembers the peculiar geographical position of Korea. With that extraordinary faculty of epigrammatic expression that is characteristic of Oriental peoples—which is the reason why the proverbs of the East are more philosophical than those of the Western nations—a Japanese statesman expressed the menace of Korea "as an arrow always pointed at the heart of Japan." Japan lived in fear that the cord might at any moment be relaxed and the arrow sped swift on its errand of destruction. To turn the shaft, Japan made treaties with Korea and Russia; she found it necessary to make war with China, to preserve the independence of the Hermit Kingdom; it was the knowledge that Russia, under the guise of commercial exploitations, was doing in Korea what she had done in Manchuria, and which if permitted to go unchecked would soon make Korea a Russian province, that drove Japan to war. It was exasperating to Japan that Manchuria should be Russian;

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that Port Arthur, baptized in Japanese blood and won by Japanese valor, should be in the hands of Russia; but Japan could see Manchuria Russianized and still not feel that her national interests were imperilled. With Korea it was different. Korea in the possession of Russia meant that Japan would be permitted to exist solely by the sufferance of Russia.

The Far East is wrapped in impenetrable mystery. We guess much, but we know almost nothing; the veil of the past has been lifted ever so little, and we catch merely a glimpse of tradition and fable running back to an age when there were gods and demons, and the god in the car was a reality and not merely a fancy of mythology. Of the Japanese ethnologically we know little if anything; of the Koreans not much more, but if we are to believe tradition it is from the Koreans that the Japanese spring; it is from Korea that civilization was brought to Japan. Now the concept of civilization, like everything else artificial, is purely a matter of convention. That marvellous appreciation of color and harmony, that passionate love of the beauty of life that enables a Japanese peasant to put a spray of cherry blossoms in a penny vase and see in it a poem to nature, whereas the educated Westerner with unseeing eyes would see only a few delicately tinted leaves and a trumpery jar and understand nothing; that deft workmanship; that obedience to authority and loyalty to family—this was the civilization that Korea believed she had given to Japan. In the modern civilization—the great guns, humanity robbed of its individuality and made a military machine, in armor plate and torpedoes, in clanging trolley cars and snorting engines and the habiliments of the West, in all that we in the pride of our conceit call civilization, Korea took no pride. Rather she looked upon it with the same lofty disdain that the college professor does upon the parvenu who "improves" a colonial homestead with *art nouveau* and buys his library by the yard to fill a corresponding number of book shelves. Japan might become modern and take her place in the great family of nations and play her part in the world's progress. Korea had no envy. She was content to remain the Hermit Kingdom sunk in the sloth of her own ignorance.

Japanese policy is a consistent one, and Japan has steadily pursued a policy that in the end must lead to the political control of Korea. With almost audacious courage, Japan during the progress of the war compelled the Korean Government to engage a Japanese subject as a financial adviser with such wide power that he practically became the country's finance minister; and to engage a diplomatic adviser to the foreign office, a foreigner to be nominated by the Japanese Government,

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who was to be consulted by the Korean Government on all matters relating to foreign affairs; and to agree not to make any treaty with any power or grant any concessions to foreigners until the Japanese Government had been consulted. In pursuance of this agreement Japan sent one of her subjects to take charge of Korean finances, and Mr. Durham White Stevens, an American long in the diplomatic service of Japan, and at that time counsellor of the embassy in Washington, was transferred to Seoul as diplomatic adviser to the Korean foreign office. Thus with Japan controlling the finances and foreign affairs of Korea, and with Korea unable to make any treaty or grant any concession unless with the approval of Japan, she was virtually in control of the government of the kingdom.

Japan Quietly Absorbs Korea

Perhaps nothing that Japan has done since she became a great power is more Napoleonic than this quiet absorption of Korea. She did it while she was still at war with Russia, and Russia could do nothing, because she had already employed the last argument of kings. Other powers that might have protested had Japan been at peace were compelled to remain quiet rather than run the risk of becoming embroiled in war. Statesmen less bold than the Japanese would have waited until the end of the war, excusing their timidity on the ground that if they were successful Korea would be theirs, and if they were defeated the attempt to acquire Korea would be merely useless effort. But the Japanese saw the advantage of possession, and when the peace plenipotentiaries met at Portsmouth there was one thing that Count Witte was made to understand from the first and was never permitted to lose sight of. Whatever else Japan might yield she would never yield her predominance in Korea. And Russia was forced to recognize this. Japan might waive the indemnity and make concessions elsewhere, but Korea was Japan's, and Japan's it would remain.

Quickly following the conclusion of peace Japan took over the foreign affairs of Korea, Korea withdrawing all her diplomatic representatives abroad and trusting her interests to the diplomatic representatives of Japan; Korea further agreeing that all matters of an international character should be transacted through the medium of the Japanese foreign office. This constituted virtually a protectorate, which was acquiesced in by the world at large.

Matters might have gone in this fashion indefinitely had it not been for the intrigues on the part of certain high Korean officials to throw off the Japanese protectorate. Had they been gifted with more sense

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they would have known that was impossible; they would have known that after Japan had shown her ability to defeat Russia in open warfare she had nothing to fear from a Korean uprising; a more acute understanding of Western methods on the part of the Emperor of Korea would have convinced him of the folly of the plan he adopted to bring his position before the world. In violation of the agreement that matters of an international character should be conducted through the Tokio foreign office, the Emperor sent a delegation to The Hague to demand admission to the Peace Conference. Japan, regarding this as a nullification of treaty stipulations, demanded of the Emperor an apology and an explicit recognition of the Japanese protectorate. Rather than comply with these demands, which he deemed beneath his dignity, the Emperor abdicated in favor of the Crown Prince. The new ruler, who is reported to be intellectually and morally a weakling, will be merely a puppet in the hands of Japan; his position will be that of the Khedive of Egypt since Egypt passed into the control of Lord Cromer as the real ruler of the land of the Pharaohs. It is not likely that Japan will annex Korea, at least not in the immediate future, as it will be more convenient to maintain the fiction of Korean independence; and the Emperor, like the Khedive, will be permitted to amuse himself with the farce of reigning, but the real ruler will be the Japanese Resident General, at present that distinguished statesman the Marquis Ito.

Korea Forces Japan's Hand

Incompetence never lacked defenders, and the most hopelessly benighted nation can always find its champions to protest against the progress forced upon it. Japan has been accused by the emotional, who among men correspond to women who send flowers to a wife murderer, of rapacity in despoiling the Koreans of their independence and embarking on an era of conquest, the end of which shall have dire consequences to all the rest of the world unless it is speedily checked. Not to indulge in any maudlin humbug, it is well plainly to say that Japan has been forced to do in Korea what England did in the Transvaal, and it is safe to assume that the results will be as beneficial in the one case as they have already demonstrated themselves to be in the other. An international nuisance is no more to be tolerated than is a municipal nuisance; nations can no more make themselves objectionable to their neighbors than a man can to the adjacent householder, and when warnings have no effect it is the duty of the authorities to take the necessary steps for the abatement of the evil. Korea was an anachronism. She was a survival of mediævalism. The world moved all around her, but she alone clung to the fixed orbit of a dead past. All around her was progress,

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the progress that comes from spiritual as well as material uplifting; in Korea alone century-old traditions prevailed, and the people were crushed under the heavy burden of superstitions and customs from which other nations have long emancipated themselves. Japan now goes to Korea to infuse into her people the spirit of progress, to make them men, to do for them what England has done for the Egyptian peasant; and in all history there has been nothing more wonderful than this transformation of the fellah, the lowest and most degraded being in the human family, into a self-respecting peasant. It is the inevitable conflict between a lower and a higher scale of civilization, with the inevitable result. All history is but the chronicle of these two contending forces, and the history of human development is written in the forcing of a higher scale of civilization upon a people, who at first resisted it, but who later came to see the immeasurable blessings that it conveyed. Japan has no easy task in Korea, but she has set her hand to the work and need not fear that she will falter. When the task has been accomplished not only will Korea be the gainer but all the world will profit by it.

Th Kaiser Cries "Check"

From Korea to Morocco is not a far cry; one is the counterpart of the other, and the only difference is that of latitude, which has its own code of morals as it has its own sartorial conventions. Both countries are barbaric, both are picturesque in a fashion, both are hopelessly behind the age. Just as Japan has been forced to teach Korea the blessings of civilization by force, so France and Spain, acting as the mandatories of the great powers under the Algeciras Convention, have been obliged to restore order in Morocco. The responsibility has been practically assumed by France alone, and the undertaking will probably be much more costly, both in money and men, than France reckoned on when the first contingent of French troops was dispatched to Casablanca.

It is very curious how great events sometimes run in parallel lines and the same results follow in widely scattered parts of the globe. There is, of course, no connection between Korea and Morocco; so far as their people are concerned neither existed for the other; but just as in Korea it is inevitable that Japan must step in, so in Morocco it has long been apparent to students of affairs that it was merely delaying the inevitable when the great powers closed their eyes to the conditions existing in Morocco. The Morocco affair is interesting. When Lord Lansdowne concluded his conventions with France which settled all outstanding differences between the two countries and made them allies, France recognized the "legitimacy" of England in Egypt, which was

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kind but really not essential so far as England was concerned, as she held those nine points of law, possession; and England in equally generous mood recognized the predominant interests of France in Morocco. Read between the lines, what the British Government really said to France in that treaty was this: "You now exercise a protectorate over Algeria and Tunis; therefore geographically, politically and commercially you have a greater interest in Morocco than any other power, and considering that Morocco has always been a storm centre, the best thing that can happen for all of us would be for you to round out your African possessions with a protectorate over Morocco. If you want to do that go ahead, and you can count upon the benevolent attitude of England."

This was a very nice arrangement as between England and France, and undoubtedly France would have proceeded to carry it out had it not been for the German Emperor, who pointedly observed that he objected to England and France assuming to be *dea ex machina* of the universe and arrogating to themselves the divine right of dividing the land and waters. When it came to disposing of Morocco, Germany was to be consulted; and if France was not willing to consult Germany, perhaps she might find it more convenient to fight. At one time it looked very much as if France and Germany would again meet in hostile array, and only the resignation of M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose vigorous policy was so objectionable to the Kaiser, saved a strained situation. Then came the Algeciras Conference, which resulted in a heavy defeat for Germany. The Kaiser expected to gain a substantial advantage and obtain from the world an acknowledgment that the interests of Germany in Morocco were at least equal to those of France, but the conference made it very clear that the interests of France were superior to those of any other power; and to France and Spain was delegated the responsibility of organizing and officering an international gendarmerie to preserve order in the principal Moroccan ports.

While Europe with the assistance of the United States, because this country was a signatory to the Algeciras Convention, was calmly disposing of Morocco, the fanatical Moors were daily becoming more incensed against foreign interference. Readers of this review will remember that I have more than once during the last few months called attention to the unrest pervading the Islamic world, which has grown to such ominous proportions that the British found it necessary to strengthen their garrisons in Egypt, and extraordinary measures had to be adopted by the Government of India to suppress sedition in the Punjab. In Morocco it is the same thing. Islam is in danger, every true believer must rally to the support of Islam, and the only way to protect Islam is

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to prevent the foreigner from penetrating into the interior of the country and obtaining possession, as England has done in Egypt and India, and France in Tunis and Algeria. A situation that was becoming rapidly intolerable and was fraught with the gravest consequences was brought to a head by the fanatical attack of the Moors on Europeans at Casablanca. France was forced to send cruisers and troops to that port to prevent a wholesale massacre of Europeans.

Will France Claim Morocco?

France has made the same initial mistake that England made when she began the regeneration of Egypt, in minimizing the strength of her enemy and failing to take into consideration the peculiar difficulties she had to meet. Had she sent at the beginning a force sufficient to put the Moors to rout and to convince them of her determination to restore order, it would have been much cheaper in the end; instead of which she sent merely a handful of troops under the command of General Drude, who is able with difficulty to keep the tribesmen at bay, but who is unable to take the offensive or inflict upon them a crushing defeat. And with every day that General Drude can merely hold his position and keep the Moors from entering Casablanca fanatical fury rises, until now it is probable an occupation of the country in the real military sense of the word will be necessary before the safety of Europeans is assured. Abdul Azziz, the Sultan of Morocco, has been asked to proclaim a *jihad* or holy war, which would call to his standard every Moslem, which might spread and perhaps bring England to face a crisis more grave than that of the Indian Mutiny. So far he has refrained from giving the signal, at the cost of the allegiance of many of his principal viceroys, who are intriguing to make his brother, Mulai Hafig, his successor. Should Mulai Hafig be invested with Sharifian authority it is feared that he will openly defy the Frank and urge a war of extermination against every foreigner in his dominions. An outbreak that might have been suppressed in a week has now become a war that may require months and an army corps or more before France can retire.

While Premier Clémenceau has been blamed for this short-sighted policy, excuse can be found for him. In the first place France was in a delicate position, fearing that if she did too much Germany would at once construe it as a pretext for the occupation of the country and the protectorate which France is so anxious to exercise, and would resent it, even perhaps to the extent of seizing upon it as a *casus belli*. The French Government will not willingly give Germany cause for provocation, and it also knew the unwisdom of weakening the army at home in view of the

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uncertain attitude of Germany. Furthermore M. Clémenceau had to consider public sentiment. The French people, similar to all the rest of the world at the present time, are in a peaceful mood and military adventure does not appeal to them. They will not lightly sanction a war that will cost millions of francs and the lives of many of their countrymen; it is not easy to convince the average Frenchman that the game is worth the candle, especially when he is taxed to the limit. It is said that as a result of the interview between King Edward and the Kaiser the latter has withdrawn all objections to France having a free hand in Morocco, and this may lead to much more vigorous action on the part of France. But it is not easy to understand why France should be willing to play such an altruistic *rôle* for the benefit of Europe unless she believes that altruism can be made to pay. Doubtless Germany might not be at all unwilling to see France engaged in a costly war, but what guarantee can France have that she is to be compensated for her sacrifices? England was forced by circumstances to go into Egypt and to stay there, and France may remember that. She has good cause to. When the British bombarded Alexandria the French were invited to join, but they refused, and their fleet mysteriously disappeared, causing the greatest anxiety in England, where for the following forty-eight hours it was feared in political and military circles that France had taken the opportunity while England was busy in the Mediterranen to slip into the channel and make a hostile demonstration. Had France taken part in the bombardment of Alexandria, she would have occupied the country jointly with England and a good deal of subsequent history would either not have been written or would have been written in another form. Germany now occupies the same position toward France that France did toward England at that time, but there is this advantage in favor of France: she has the support of England, and any overt act on the part of Germany would make England the ally of France. If France should decline to pull the chestnut out of the fire for the benefit of Germany and the other powers it may be necessary for an international army of occupation to be sent to Morocco, which is the last thing any far-seeing statesman will encourage, as it would almost certainly result in complications. But in some way or other Morocco must be tranquillized, and it is not easy at the present time to see how that is to be done or who is to do it. Morocco for the moment has taken the place of the Ottoman Empire to disturb the sleep of European statesmen.

But despite Morocco and Korea, despite the farcical Hague Conference, which talks much of war and little of peace and has not, up to the present time, done a single thing to advance the cause of peace,

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the mood of the hour in Europe is peace. The chronic pessimists find no one to listen to them. The whole world is in a Christmas-like frame of mind, and peace on earth and good will toward all mankind is the motto that appears to have been tacked up in every European foreign office. King and nephew have met and parted, apparently the best of friends; Kaiser and Czar have met and renewed their assurances of friendship; the King of England and the Emperor of Austria have exchanged visits, and bourses remain unshaken.

Edward the Peacemaker

It is due entirely to the extraordinary diplomacy and tact of the King of England that the era of good feeling exists. How long it will continue no one can say, and no wise statesman deludes himself into the belief that it will continue indefinitely, but there is warrant for the hope that peace will not be broken so long as King Edward remains at the active head of affairs.

A man of extraordinary ability is the present King of England, a man whose great capacity was not suspected until long after an age when the world has usually formed and closed its judgment of men. Had the King died when he was stricken down with appendicitis on the eve of his coronation he would have occupied a much smaller place in history than he does now. Up to that time, as the world was able to know him, he was a man who loved life and got out of life all there was in it. He had always been noted for his tact; a marked trait was his desire to make every one around him happy and to play the peacemaker whenever it was possible, but no opportunity had been given him to give proof of statesmanship of the first order.

In a few short years he has shown himself to be the first statesman of Europe. He has brought about an *entente* with France, which made the two nations, for so many years bitter enemies, friends and allies. That was the beginning of a new policy, a policy as extraordinary in its far-seeing scope and wonderful results as it was logical and simple in accomplishing what the King desired—the peace of Europe. The European situation at the time was in one respect extremely complicated, but it was also extremely simple; it resembled nothing so much as a child's house of blocks which comes down with a crash the moment a single block is disturbed. France and Russia were allies, not that either had any common bonds of interest; in fact, they had so little in common that it was an unnatural alliance, a *mariage de convenance* between nations, and like all such unions it was merely a case of purchase on one side and sale on the other. France poured her milliards into Russian securities because she believed in Russian professions of affection and thought she

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could rely on Russia in case either England or Germany attacked her; Russia, with France as an ally, had less to fear from Germany, and the fear of Germany is ever present in the minds of Russian statesmen; Russia felt herself freer to attempt to checkmate English designs in the Far East and elsewhere so long as she could use France as a diversion should England make any awkward demands, diplomatic or otherwise.

It all seems to be very simple now, which is the way every great problem appears after the solution has been found; but what none of the King's ministers had been able to see the King saw and turned to his own advantage. France was the one block most easily to be removed from the house of blocks, and once detached the house must be rebuilt. The moment France and England were no longer enemies the whole situation changed. France no longer stood in fear of Germany, because Germany stood in fear of the military and naval strength of England; Russia still remained the ally of France, but now the influence of France was exerted to bring about the same good understanding between England and Russia as existed between France and England. Austria and Italy were allied by treaty with Germany, an alliance not quite so unnatural as that between Russia and France but which was actuated by scarcely more sentiment. The late Premier Crispi, who, rather than Prince Bismarck, was the real creator of the *Dreibund,* frankly admitted that he simply regarded it as a policy of insurance taken out to cover certain contingencies; and on the part of Austria it was a safeguard in case Russia became too active in the Balkans. What Germany gained was obvious, and yet Bismarck, with that astounding cynical disregard of moral obligations that made him what he was, still further fortified his position and nullified the treaty so far as Austria was concerned by concluding a secret treaty with Russia; the existence of which treaty, it is perhaps quite unnecessary to observe, Russia did not consider it necessary to communicate to her French ally. This is European diplomacy.

The League of Peace

Italy being the ally of Germany, and France being the object against which the alliance was directed, the relations between Italy and France were for many years unsatisfactory, as was shown by vexatious tariff regulations and other things calculated to restrict trade between the two countries, Italy looking to Germany to make up what she lost by antagonizing France. The natural commercial relations between Italy and France are much closer than between Italy and Germany, and while there is very little in common between the Italians and the Germans, there is much in common between the Italians and the

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French. A long and traditional friendship has existed between England and Italy, and when England and France forgot past differences it was not a difficult matter for English influence, which means the King's, to bring France and Italy closer together. Between the reigning houses of Austria and England there has always existed a very close bond, and no one mourned more sincerely than the venerable Austrian Emperor the death of the late Queen of England, with whom he corresponded freely and whose advice he was always ready to accept. Austria remained the ally of Germany, but that alliance was not a menace to England.

Summed up, the result of King Edward's diplomacy of the last few years is seen to be as follows: England and France have settled all the questions that formerly kept them apart, and are now working in perfect concord to keep the peace of Europe; England and Russia have reached a working arrangement, and a clash between the two powers either in the Far or Near East is no longer feared; between England and Italy and England and Austria there is complete sympathy; an English princess sits on the throne of Spain, which is of importance politically because of the interest England has in the Mediterranean; an English princess sits on the throne of Norway, which is of lesser importance but not without its political value. England, therefore, can command the support of every European power with the sole exception of Germany, whose Emperor rages with impotent fury as he watches the success of his uncle's diplomacy. But so long as Germany is isolated—and she is practically isolated to-day, because, for the reasons given, the Italian and Austrian alliance does not mean much—the world has little to fear that its peace will be broken by Germany. Great as are the military resources of Germany they are not great enough to defy the world. There are German military writers who have asserted that Germany should provoke France to war; that she should smash France, that the campaign should simply be a repetition of that of thirty-six years ago, when the sight of Moltke's *pickelhaubes* threw Frenchmen into panic and mothers stilled their crying babies by telling them that the Red Prince and his uhlans would catch them. These German writers do not overlook the fact that England would in all probability come to the assistance of France, but what of that, they say. England could not at the outside send an army of more than a hundred thousand men; and while, of course, the British fleet would smash the German fleet into splinters and do a great deal of damage to German ports, and drive the German merchant marine off the seas, Germany could not be invaded, the bombardment of German cities would not stay the victorious march of the German army to Paris, and for all the damage done to German ports and German ships

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France would be made to pay; she would pay an indemnity of five francs for every mark destroyed; the very life-blood of France would be drained, so that there would be no nation so feeble as to fear her, no nation so insignificant as to court her friendship.

Possibly some of these writers believe what they write, but it is not probable. But the Kaiser does not. He is entirely too cold and calculating for that, despite the reputation he has for impetuosity. A reputation for being impetuous, the world has suddenly discovered, is one of the most priceless assets of a ruler or a statesman. It is like a pretty woman's ignorance of a language; it enables her to say things, in all her childish innocence, which one must excuse because she is a foreigner. The impetuous statesman is excused because he is impetuous. Impetuosity like charity covers a multitude of sins, and an even greater number of vices. The late Lord Salisbury was noted for his "blazing indiscretions," which enabled him to say many things that were indiscreet but salutary. But the impetuous statesman can say anything without the slightest risk to himself and establish a reputation for frankness and honesty, while with studied disingenuousness and frigid dishonesty he plans his own selfish schemes. Impetuosity has been raised to a fine art.

Just as men of limited imagination and intelligence have to use slang as a medium of expression, because it is stereotyped expression and requires no exertion, so does the world find it easier to classify its great and accept without question the correctness of the classification. The world has been told often enough that the German Emperor is a rash and impetuous man, a sayer of foolish things and a doer of ill-advised actions, but he is neither rash enough, nor impetuous enough, nor foolish enough to draw his sword in the face of all Europe. To fight France is one thing, to fight France and England combined is quite another; to fight France and England and lose the moral support of Austria, Italy and Russia would be the act of a madman, and William is not mad. Thus the diplomacy of King Edward has surrounded Germany with a league of peace, and Germany is forced to keep the peace, because she dare not risk turning the league of peace into a coalition bent on her destruction.

What the European political world calls a new triple alliance has been called into being by the Anglo-French-Spanish agreements for the maintenance of the *status quo* in certain parts of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. It is, of course, fantastic to call this an alliance; but, as the London *Morning Post* points out, "an agreement for the maintenance of the *status quo* is a mild form of defensive combination. It can hardly by any stretch of the imagination be construed into an offensive sign."

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These agreements, which take the form of notes exchanged between the British and Spanish governments and the French and Spanish governments, and are identical, *mutatis mutandis* recite that the respective powers, animated by the desire to contribute in every possible way to the maintenance of peace, and convinced that the preservation of the territorial *status quo* in the Mediterranean and that part of the Atlantic Ocean which washes the shores of Europe and Africa must materially serve this end, and is moreover to the mutual advantage of nations bound to each other by the closest ties of ancient friendship and of community of interests, make the following declaration of policy. Sir Edward Grey in his note to the Spanish ambassador in London thus continues:

A New Triple Alliance

"The general policy of the Government of his Britannic Majesty in the regions above defined is directed to the maintenance of the territorial *status quo,* and in pursuance of this policy they are firmly resolved to preserve intact the rights of the British Crown over its insular and maritime possessions in these regions.

"Should circumstances arise which, in the opinion of the Government of his Britannic Majesty, would alter, or tend to alter, the existing territorial *status quo* in the said regions they will communicate with the Government of his Catholic Majesty in order to afford them the opportunity to concert, if desired, by mutual agreement the course of action which the two powers shall adopt in common."

The German press naturally see in these agreements another design against their country. They think the understanding cloaks an attempt to obtain control over Morocco, and the *Deutsche Tagezeitung* says: "Spain hopes one day to receive compensation of a territorial nature in Morocco for her definite renunciation of rights on Gibraltar. . . . This new triple alliance is, in fact, symptomatic of a policy which is not friendly toward us. It will only contribute toward making Germany more watchful and more mistrustful." But the London *Morning Post* answers this by saying: "Governments do not put their heads together to consolidate the peace unless they feel that there is a possibility of its disturbance. . . . The fact that Spain has come to an understanding with France and England on the subject of the preservation of the *status quo* in regions where all the three powers have interests proves that there was a feeling that the international atmosphere was not as calm and settled as it might be. . . . Yet the agreements cannot on any theory be construed as a menace to any German right or interest. They

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might, indeed, be read as creating a barrier against German designs, if such designs existed, for subverting the *status quo* to the detriment of Great Britain, France, or Spain. If no such design is cherished, then the agreements have no point against Germany. If they are disagreeable to Germany there must be some German intentions which they tend to thwart. But in that case not only are the agreements necessary, but they ought to be supplemented by such armaments, especially in Great Britain, as would give material weight to the guarantee which they contain. . . .

"We note in one of these German articles the expression: 'A paper ring around Germany.' The expression conveys at once an insinuation that any British attempt at friendship with another power is an unfriendly act toward Germany, and that it is of no avail. But has the writer put to his readers the questions whether the German Government has ever during the last few years made any proposal whatever for an understanding with Great Britain, and whether any such proposal has been rejected by a British Government?"

The real meaning of these agreements is this: France and England guarantee to Spain her coast and her possessions; Spain recognizes that Gibraltar is English, and no longer Spanish "in temporary occupation of the English," which has been its official designation to salve Spanish pride ever since its capture; England and Spain recognize the right of France in Algeria and Tunis; France again admits that England is legitimately in occupation of Egypt. A sort of international Monroe Doctrine has been created to prevent a disturbance of the present equilibrium, and the only power likely to disturb that equilibrium is Germany; but as one writer very correctly puts it, "the policy of Europe is not directed against Germany, but without her." Germany is simply being left out of the political game. She is not invited to play, and she can only stand by and watch the other powers carry out their policies while she is quietly ignored.

Japan Quiets French Fears

France has also concluded an important agreement with Japan, which is still further recognition of the dominant position held by Japan in the affairs of the Far East.

"The governments of France and Japan," the agreement runs, "agreeing to respect the independence integrity of China, as well as the principle of equality of treatment in that country for the commerce and subjects of all nations, and having a special interest in seeing order and a pacific state of affairs guaranteed, particularly in the regions of the Chinese

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Empire adjacent to the territories where they have rights of sovereignty, protection and occupation, bind themselves mutually to support one another in order to assure the peace and security of those regions, with a view to the maintenance of the respective positions and territorial rights of the two contracting parties on the Asiatic continent."

The agreement is really of more importance to France than it is to Japan, although vastly flattering to Japanese pride as showing that all the world recognizes there can be no discussion of the continent of Asia without the voice of Japan being listened to with respect. There was some foundationless talk in the European press a few months ago that Japan might pointedly intimate to France that she held Indo-China without a shadow of right and that Japan would refuse to recognize her title. France could not have defended her Asiatic territory against Japan—Japan is on her own ground and France is too far from her military base; and the agreement now insures France that she will not be disturbed. On the part of France it is an acceptance of the changed conditions that resulted from the Peace of Portsmouth. Japan, so far as France is concerned, is given a free hand in Korea, in Formosa, in that part of Manchuria which she gained by right of conquest. The agreement is also of importance as again placing on record the determination of two great powers to preserve the independence and integrity of China and maintain the principle of equality of treatment to which all the nations pledged themselves at the instigation of the late Secretary Hay.

Russia and Japan Agree

There are fashions in diplomacy as there are in everything else, and the latest style in diplomacy is the agreement. To keep up with the times Russia has made a convention with Japan, which ought still further to insure the peace of the Far East if both parties are as sincere as their words would indicate. The convention, which was signed at St. Petersburg on the 30th of last July, is as follows:

The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, and the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, animated by a desire to strengthen the peaceful, friendly, and neighborly relations which have happily been restored between Russia and Japan, and to remove the possibility of future misunderstandings between the two empires, have entered into the following agreements:

"Article I: Each of the two high contracting parties undertakes to respect the present territorial integrity of the other, as well as all rights accruing to one or the other of the high contracting parties from existing realties, agreements, or conventions now in force between the high contracting parties and China, copies of which have been exchanged by the contracting powers, so far as these

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rights are not incompatible with the principle of equal opportunity enunciated in the treaty signed at Portsmouth on September 5, 1905, and in the special convention concluded between Japan and Russia.

"Article II: Both high contracting parties recognize the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China, as well as the principle of equal opportunity in commerce and industry for all nations in the said Empire. They also pledge themselves to uphold the maintenance of the *status quo* and the respect of this principle with all peaceable means at their disposal."

Portsmouth and After

When the Peace of Portsmouth was signed, it was the general impression that it was not a peace but merely an armed truce; that the ambitions of Russia and Japan were irreconcilable, and that the contest for supremacy was bound to be renewed as soon as one or the other felt itself strong enough to engage in a decisive war. Agreements between nations are often like the amenities of polite society that mean nothing and are simply a matter of form, but at least fill up a gap that otherwise might be embarrassing. For the present Russia and Japan have officially determined to forget the past, and there is evidence that the statesmen of both countries have shifted, if not altered, their point of view. This is more marked in the case of Russia than in that of Japan. Russian statesmen appear at least to have become convinced of the folly of the policy of aggression and territorial expansion that for so many years made Russia the object of suspicion on the part of other nations. And doubtless the views of Russian statesmen have been modified by recent events both at home and abroad. The policy of Russia until quite recently was, to every intelligent person not blinded by Russian passion, as short-sighted and destructive as could be conceived. With an enormous empire rich in potential resources but undeveloped, with a population capable of being trained to a high degree of industrial skill, the statesmen of Russia, instead of creating wealth and raising the general level of intelligence and comfort, went into adventures that commercially were of no value and politically were always a menace and a drain on the resources of the empire. If only a tithe of the money wasted on the trans-Siberian railroad had been judiciously and economically spent on productive works in Russia itself, spent honestly and not diverted into the pockets of grand dukes and favored personages about the country, Russia would have something to show for the expenditure. Public sentiment in Russia is slowly having its effect. There is as yet little real opportunity for the voice of the people to manifest itself, but a man even so blind and so deaf as the Czar must dimly comprehend that there is a new spirit in his people. Had Russia crushed Japan, had the fiction of the valor and invincibility of the Russian Army been sustained

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—a grandmother's tale that for half a century has frightened more than one timorous European statesman—had the army returned to be acclaimed as conquering heroes, had the battle of Tsushima been the Japanese Lissa, had these things happened, the cause of progress would have been stayed and Russia would have been buried a century deeper under the crushing weight of absolutism. Autocracy would have been vindicated, the system would have justified itself, the fear of the army would have made resistance impossible. We may talk as we please of the Yellow Peril, of the danger to the world of Japan dominating the Far East, of the menace to come from the spirit of Japan being infused into China and China taking her place among the nations, but all these dangers, if dangers they really are, are not to be compared with the danger that confronted the world's advancing tide of civilization from the triumph of a system of government that deprived the people of all voice in their own affairs and made them simply the creatures of an autocracy.

If an agreement has not already been concluded between England and Russia it is in fair way to being consummated, according to the latest and most reliable information obtainable. It will not be in any sense an alliance—the time has not yet come when the English people would sanction a formal alliance with Russia—but it will amount to a frank recognition by each power of the rights of the other, and a virtual pledge on the part of Russia not to try to disturb the *status quo* in either the Near or Far East. Russian activity in the Persian Gulf, the fear that Russia was attempting to bring Persia under her influence, the constant suspicion of Russia entertained by the Government of India that the massing of troops on the Indian frontier and the construction of strategical railways were all part of a general plan to undermine English authority in Asia, made it impossible for any real friendship to exist between the two countries. If now a frank understanding has been reached, it furnishes another powerful guarantee for the maintenance of peace; that is, so long as a fear of big battalions exists in the minds of statesmen. One need not be a cynic not to take too seriously the profession of enduring and everlasting peace between nations; but one must be very foolish, and have read history to very little account and understand even less the passions and follies of even the wisest of men, to be deluded into Utopian dreams and wander in the maze of the universal brotherhood of man. That time has not come, and until it comes the surest guarantee of peace is to keep the sword ready at hand with sharpened edge.

But for the moment at least—assuming that England and Russia have agreed or will shortly agree on a *modus vivendi*—it is worth noting what a

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marvellous change has been effected in a few short months. Only yesterday Asia was the world's storm centre, and the world waited with dire forebodings for the crash of the thunder and the forked sheets of flame that were to rive a continent and herald Armageddon. But the thunder, though terrifying, was harmless, and the lightning merely cleared the air. To-day it is the summer's calm after the storm. England, Russia, Japan, and France are joined together to avert any disturbances which might arise from the clash of conflicting ambitions and interests. "In place of the sense of instability, uncertainty, and anxiety regarding the future which has necessarily existed hitherto," says the London *Morning Post*, "there should now be a feeling of security and confidence that will encourage and stimulate peaceful development in every direction." It is well said.

Will Germany and France Embrace?

So clearly has it been pointed out that Germany is completely isolated and in all Europe can count on no ally if she attempts an aggressive policy that would hazard peace, that it would seem absurd to talk about Germany escaping from her isolation; and yet in statesmanship the impossible is frequently the obvious. The genesis of Germany's isolation is to be found in the war of 1870, which drove France into the arms of Russia; the aggressive policy of Bismarck and the Kaiser, which, primarily directed against France, developed into a menace against England; the reversal of the traditional policy of England, who gloried in her "splendid isolation" and had all of a strong man's contempt for the man unable to think or act for himself, which led to the series of alliances and *ententes* to which reference has already been made; the sudden pricking of the Russian military balloon, and the dramatic rise of a great power in the Far East. As France held the key to the situation by which England was enabled to escape from her isolation, so again France offers the means by which Germany can enter the concert of Europe. If Germany can reach an understanding with France, and if France can feel that she need no longer sleep with one eye watching the Rhine, England will only too gladly extend the right hand of fellowship to Germany. Is such a thing possible?

The answer can be found in the character of the Kaiser. A man of tremendous ability and keen vision is the German Emperor, despite certain qualities that dim his ability and lessen his influence. His great ambition is to hand down to his successor a Germany that is politically and commercially great; to complete the work that Bismarck began when he welded provinces into an empire and made Germany

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one of the arbiters of the world's destiny; to win from the world the title of "William the Great." He has consistently pursued a line of policy that cannot be termed ill-considered, even though it has not brought him the end he desired. He has made Germany feared and respected even if he has made her disliked; he has made the world listen to the voice of Germany, even if the world has considered it a raucous voice and affected to pretend that it got on her nerves; he has played a great *rôle* in *Weltpolitik,* and he has kept the peace. But his policy has failed; and since he has ability—in some respects the appellation of genius would not be an exaggeration—what more natural than that he should modify his policy to gain what he covets?

There are signs that the Kaiser is at least giving serious consideration to the profit to be gained from an *entente* with France. During the summer he has paid marked, one might almost say ostentatious, courtesies to French yachtsmen visiting Kiel; M. Etienne, who formerly held the portfolios of Minister of War and Minister of the Interior, was received by the Kaiser in private audience and afterward had an interview with the Imperial Chancellor; there have been numerous interviews between Prince Bülow and M. Cambon, the French ambassador; and, perhaps more significant than all, for the first time since the Franco-Prussian War, a few weeks ago, a French singing society, with the approval of the German Government, participated in musical fêtes in Alsace.

Germany will not surrender Alsace and Lorraine, and no serious-minded Frenchman considers that as a possibility, but there are concessions that can be made on both sides that would bring about accord. France believes in her mission in Africa (one has never been quite able to understand the attraction it has for her), and would give much to be permitted a free hand in Morocco; and that she can obtain only by consent of the Kaiser. On the other hand, the Kaiser has long desired a free hand in Asia Minor, and with the death of Francis Joseph, of Austria, new problems may confront Germany that can only be solved with the acquiescence of the European powers. Taking all these things into consideration, there are abundant reasons why the Kaiser may see the wisdom of restoring good relations with France; and there is nothing to be gained by holding France at arm's length and thereby isolating himself from the world's councils.

On the 18th of August Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, celebrated his seventy-seventh birthday. It is commonplace to talk of the tragedy of a man's life; but there are few men who have lived such

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a tragedy as the Nestor of royalty, who can see no gleam of hope to comfort his remaining years. Not one of the things that can compensate a man has been vouchsafed to him. He has tasted of the bitterness that comes from the death of his beloved—his only son ended his life under circumstances so mysterious and so horrible that even now the world does not know the real story of Meyerling; his wife fell under the knife of an assassin, and never was there a more wanton murder; his brother died in the foolish attempt to found an empire in Mexico. As a king Francis Joseph has suffered no less than as a man. He was called to the throne a lad of eighteen, and the unaccustomed crown still pressed heavy on his youthful head when he was forced to crush rebellion in Hungary, only to see himself defeated and compelled pitifully to appeal to Russia to save his heritage. Solferino and Sadowa are bitter memories to a proud man. And now as the end draws near he sees Hungary again rebellious, this time not in arms, but politically defying his power and threatening the security of the empire; he knows that after his death, in all probability, the map of Europe will have to be remade. He will die with his heart empty and his ambitions ungratified. In all Europe there is no more pathetic and lonely figure than this King, who has deserved better things of fate.

The Most Pathetic Figure in Europe

For although Francis Joseph cannot be classed as one of the world's intellectually great, he is a man far above the average; and placed in a most delicate position, he has displayed extraordinary tact and a wonderful faculty for doing the right thing at the right time. Age brought its responsibilities and with them a fuller understanding of their meaning, and the lesson of experience has not been wasted on him. Europe has long respected his judgment and his moderation; without spectacular display he has contributed to keeping the peace. His influence among his own subjects has been far greater than that of any of his ministers. His sorrows have unconsciously brought him nearer to the hearts of his people, who have been touched by the pathos of his life, and who listen to him with a respect they accord no other man. It is his influence alone that has kept his turbulent dominions in a state of even semi-peace, that has kept the never-ending conflict between Magyar and German from breaking out into open warfare. He has done his work well; but bitterness must come with the knowledge that it is all so futile, that he has built his house on sand. He has held his empire together with the slender threads of his personal influence, but with his death those threads will be broken, and then, perhaps, will come chaos.

A. Maurice Low.

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FINANCE

THE FALL IN THE WORLD'S MARKETS

BY ALEXANDER D. NOYES

We left the financial markets, at the conclusion of the review in the last number of The Forum, in a state of uncertainty and apprehension, in connection with which there had been a heavy break on the Stock Exchange and partial derangement of credit. We saw what apprehensions were then entertained in the financial community regarding the immediate and the longer future. These apprehensions naturally converged into a feeling of great doubt as to what might happen in the autumn.

As all readers of these pages know, it is the early autumn, when the harvest movement is in progress and when the reserves of city banks are accordingly drawn upon, which applies the genuinely severe test to a financial situation. On more than one occasion it has been reserved for September and the succeeding months, in a year of disturbed credit, to bring to the surface the seriously weak spots of the financial situation. This was the case in such years of formidable financial panic as 1873 and 1890, in the first of which the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, occurring early in September, at a time when the markets had begun to hope that the worst was over, threw the entire American financial community into chaos, and forced the suspension of business on the Stock Exchange during a period of more than two weeks. It was in 1890 that the gathering storm which followed the rash expansion of credit of the spring and early summer broke over the markets during November in connection with the Baring Brothers' failure.

On each of these occasions, there could be no doubt that, so far as the American market was concerned, the peremptory demand for Eastern money by the harvest communities brought the crisis to a head. Bank reserves, in New York and in the East generally, were depleted at the very moment when need for a solid foundation for the top-heavy mass of credits was most urgent. That the pressure of the harvest demand is peculiarly serious in the United States, hardly needs to be pointed out; I have had occasion to refer to this phenomenon many times before. Looking ahead some months ago, that factor in the situation seemed more full of unpleasant possibilities this

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year than usual, from the fact that these very Western communities had been lending in the East during the Stock Exchange speculation of last year a sum of capital estimated at no less than $500,000,000, and that their own needs at the present time, in connection with an unprecedentedly heavy trade and a speculative situation not unlike that in the East, were likely to be such as to demand the return of Eastern balances in quantity.

That a good part of these balances had been already returned before the present autumn approached, every one agreed. The question was, how far such repayment had been made effective, and how much would remain in our Eastern banks, to be sent West during the present harvest season. If the demand from the inland communities was even as heavy as last year's, it apparently foreshadowed a net loss by New York institutions, early in the autumn, of upward of $30,000,000 actual cash. In previous years it had been the custom, as this season of Westward remittances approached, for international bankers in New York to draw on Europe's reserve of capital sufficiently to make good the loss. They discounted, so to speak, the payments normally coming to them from the European markets when the crops, to harvest which the East was sending its money West, should move out in quantity to Europe. Acting quite automatically, the result of this arrangement was that Europe, knowing in August and September that it would have to pay certain sums in October, November and December for the grain and cotton purchased from America, paid for it in advance, exacting the regular rate of interest for the accommodation.

Nothing could be more regular and proper than this process, and nothing in the average year could work better for the financial situation, home and foreign. But the striking fact in the calculations and misgivings with which the financial markets approached the present autumn was the unwillingness ascribed to Europe to allow these anticipated drafts on its supplies of capital. It was repeatedly the tenor of dispatches from London to the American financial press and to the New York bankers that these foreign markets could not afford to provide for New York on the scale of previous years. For this state of mind there were two reasons. One was the highly uncertain condition of Europe's own finances. Its bank reserves were low; its liabilities immensely inflated by trade requirements of unprecedented volume, and by issues of new securities which the public had not taken and which, therefore, in Europe as in America, were carried on the basis of bank loans.

Had this been the only reason for hesitation on the part of Europe,

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it might indeed have resulted in a discreet curtailment of the remittances in the early autumn to America, but could hardly have led even to a threat of complete refusal to accept American bills. Most unfortunately, however, the situation was complicated this present year by unpleasant recollections of what took place last autumn. Whatever may be said of the policy of London banks, in providing the sinews for the extravagant Wall Street speculation of last winter, the fact remains that Lombard Street made advances to our immensely wealthy speculators on a scale quite apart from what had been fixed by the prudent tradition of other years. Not only so, but Europe learned in the later chapters of that episode that America was borrowing for the purpose of extorting gold. In spite of the plain intimation that Europe could not spare its reserve money in such quantities, the American banks, with the assistance of the Secretary of the Treasury, drew in such volume on their foreign credits that exchange on London broke violently, and before the year was over New York had taken from Europe no less than $40,000,000 gold, of which $32,000,000 came from England. The result of this experiment — the commotion on all foreign markets, the rise of the Bank of England rate to 6 per cent., and the hostile attitude adopted by all other European markets—should be sufficiently fresh in the reader's memory. The point to notice now is that London, in a chastened spirit, approached the present season with the feeling that at all hazards a repetition of such an episode must be prevented, and this feeling was transmuted with no great difficulty into the feeling that New York could not have even the accommodation, through advance of capital before the crop export movement, to which it had been accustomed in normal years.

The Midsummer Recovery

We shall see, before this review is over, precisely what was the outcome of this remarkable state of mind. First, however, it will be necessary to review in brief the events which have occurred since the last number of this magazine was issued. The month of July apparently reflected relief from a long-continued strain; toward the close, indeed, a substantial advance occurred on the Stock Exchange, which led the unthinking to infer that the "boom" of the previous year was to be renewed, and which elicited from more experienced minds the comment that speculation for the rise at such a juncture was most premature and imprudent. It is possible that this rise during July was an immediate factor in the events which followed during the month of August. In nine cases out of ten, that month is a period of quiet markets and gen-

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erally unruffled finance in the United States. So true is it that the great underlying forces of the market are apt to postpone their full effect until the ensuing month that August has repeatedly—as was the case last year—been of such a character in the financial markets as completely to mislead the ordinary observer regarding the probabilities of the immediate future.

August of 1906, for instance, witnessed the climax of the Union Pacific boom and apparently foreshadowed advancing markets and ready advances of capital by Europe throughout the autumn. August of 1905 started a similar movement based on the Russo-Japanese peace. August of 1902 witnessed strong markets from start to finish, which gave no clue whatever to the extreme financial disorder through which the autumn markets were destined to pass. Contrasting absolutely, both with the months when August appeared to foreshadow prosperity and confidence, and the months when it was nearly a period of idleness, the month this year was marked by demoralization so extreme as to threaten at times something not far short of panic. During two weeks in the middle of the month, forced liquidation on the Stock Exchange reached to such volume as to threaten financial disaster. Not only were the advances of July cancelled by the movement of the succeeding month, but new low prices for the entire present period of finance were reached. It will now be in order to examine the incidents of this remarkable movement and to see exactly what bearing each had on the situation. We shall then be able not only to ascertain the real basis of the disorder but to look forward with some confidence into the future.

Standard Oil Case and the Markets

The really sensational decline in the August stock market occurred immediately after the conviction and sentence of the Standard Oil Company on August 3d for illegal acceptance of rebates from the Alton Railroad. For this reason the entire weakness in stocks was long ascribed by the market and is still ascribed by many financiers to the administration's activity in enforcing the law against corporations which have violated it. To what extent the break in prices was actually a result of the Standard Oil incident may perhaps be better judged after we have reviewed that incident itself.

The Government's suit against the Standard Oil Company, for violation of the so-called Elkins law, prohibiting under heavy money penalties the reduction of freight rates to favored shippers through the subterfuge of "rebates," was plainly announced by President Roosevelt long beforehand. The suit was entered in November, 1906; the jury rendered

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its verdict in the last week of July this year, and on Saturday, August 3d, Judge Landis in the United States District Court of Indiana imposed on the company a fine of $29,240,000. Now it is not improbable that the magnitude of this fine startled many people in the investment community who might otherwise have gone serenely about their business. A possible inference was this—that if the court could impose such a sentence on one company which was financially able to pay it, there was nothing to hinder its imposing a similar fine on other companies which would be bankrupted by it. Furthermore, since no shareholder could positively know that the officers of his own railroad had not secretly granted rebates to favored shippers, and since the penalty on the railroad is the same in such case as on the shipper, he could not be sure that a sudden announcement similar to that of the Standard Oil might not be made of a confiscatory fine upon his company.

This, I say, was a possible line of reasoning, and it was undoubtedly adopted by certain investors in the market. The fine in the case of the Standard Oil was computed in this way. The Elkins law makes the provision regarding punishment:

> Every person or corporation who shall offer, grant, or give, or solicit, accept, or receive any such rebates, concession, or discrimination shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than $1,000 nor more than $20,000.

Now it will be observed that while this paragraph names the maximum and minimum amount which may be imposed for a given offence, it does not clearly state what would constitute one offence. In the course of the legal contest, counsel for the company submitted to the court three possible bases of interpretation — either that the alleged rebating between September 1, 1903, and March 1, 1905, constituted under the indictment one infraction of the law; or that since the fixing of the rate between the railway and the Standard Oil occurred once in a year and remained in force for the twelve ensuing months, that the alleged infractions of the law were three in number; or, finally, that since thirty-six separate bills were introduced in testimony as having been rendered by the railway at the illegal rate, the penalties incurred were thirty-six. Here, it may readily be seen, was a nice question of interpretation. Judge Landis discarded all of these three theories, ruled that each carload of merchandise shipped by the company over the railroad at the illegal rate constituted a separate violation of the law, concluding that since the record of such carload shipments footed up 1,462, and since the maximum fine allowed by the State was $20,000 for each

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offence, imposition of that maximum fine would foot up a total penalty of $29,240,000.

It will be seen that a good deal of ground existed here for legal difference of opinion, and argument on this point will undoubtedly be heard before the higher courts. This part of the decision has evoked very widespread criticism. The Standard Oil Company has the right to two appeals from Judge Landis's decision—first to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and thence to the Supreme Court. Apparently, this would involve, in case the next higher court decides against the company, a delay of nearly or quite two years before the case is finally adjudicated. It has been pointed out that although the celebrated Northern Securities case was by special arrangement advanced to the Circuit Court of Appeals as the court of original jurisdiction, nevertheless a full year had to elapse—between April 9, 1903, and March 14, 1904—before the Supreme Court had finally passed upon the case. The importance of these points is—first, that the Standard Oil decision cannot for some time to come be again a distinct disturbing influence in the market, and, second, that if the jury and judge in the recent case erred through prejudice or passion, there will be ample opportunity for the court to reverse their findings on points of law and procedure.

The "Roosevelt Argument"

I have said that the first feeling of bewilderment over the magnitude of the fine led to real apprehension should the courts adopt a similar policy toward other corporations. The admitted existence of this apprehension gave legitimate ground for the appeal on the part of the financial community as a whole to President Roosevelt for some statement which should clear up this part of the situation, and at least show the average shareholder where he stood as regarded possibilities of the future. At this point something exceedingly unfortunate occurred. Attorney-General Bonaparte, under whose general auspices the Standard Oil suit had been carried to completion, allowed himself to be drawn into two or three highly injudicious and unguarded interviews. It has been alleged in excuse for Mr. Bonaparte's mistake that he made the statements in question privately and without being aware that they were destined for publication. How far this excuse is sufficient must be left to the average reader.

The most unpleasant interviews in the group were those in which, first, when questioned as to what would be done under certain circumstances to a corporation which neglected or was unable to accede to the order of the court, the Attorney-General intimated that a federal re-

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ceiver could always operate the road. Quite inevitably, this interview led to the inference on the part of the more timid investors that the practice of putting court officers in charge of railways might be adopted as a policy. This would have been a plain misunderstanding of Mr. Bonaparte's assertion. Of his second interview, little can be said except that it was exceedingly untimely and ill advised. It contained this remarkable statement of his department's position:

> There was a big covey of game, and it would be a very poor marksman indeed who could not land enough to make a fine mess.

Now, people familiar with the real nature of the investment situation have not been greatly disposed to ascribe the whole resulting trouble in the markets to these interviews; but even with those who have frankly admitted that quite other influences lay at the bottom of the situation, it has been frankly conceded that the result of these statements from an official source was exceedingly unfortunate. Many instances in our political and financial history have been recalled where even the injudicious wording of a sufficiently proper announcement by a high officer of Government has resulted in needless and most unfortunate disturbance of the financial situation. The famous case in point was that of President Cleveland in December, 1895, when his Venezuela message, announcing the American Government's purpose of objecting to England's policy in its relations with that country, concluded with the words: "In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibilities incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow." It will not have been forgotten that publication of this interview resulted in an instantaneous panic on the stock exchanges both of London and New York. Both markets at once began to talk war.

Yet it has been properly contended, then and since then, that the financial situation of the day was bad; that, in part, the artificial attempt to protect the United States Treasury from the loss of gold brought on by our treasury note inflation was breaking down, and that so rotten a position had resulted that a crash sooner or later was inevitable under any circumstances. This is altogether true, but it will not escape the experienced observer's mind that the very knowledge of the existence of so precarious a situation ought to have led to discreet and judicious language in so weighty a public document. Precisely the same may be said of the Attorney-General's interviews, and it was this which gave legitimate force to the pressure which now converged on the President, to say something publicly which should offset the public effects of these statements by his law officer. On August 20th, accordingly, in the

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course of the speech at Provincetown, Mass., which, by the way, had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with finance, the President took occasion to make two striking statements. One was as follows:

> I desire no less emphatically to have it understood that we have undertaken and will undertake no action of a vindictive type, and, above all, no action which shall inflict great or unmerited suffering upon the innocent stockholders and upon the public as a whole. Our purpose is to act with the minimum of harshness compatible with obtaining our ends.

It will be noticed that Mr. Roosevelt promised nothing definite in this paragraph; in fact, he coupled it with the further statement:

> Once for all, let me say that as far as I am concerned, and for the eighteen months of my administration that remain there will be no change in the policy we have steadily pursued, no let-up in the effort to secure the honest observance of the law.

Nevertheless, the President's statement regarding the Government's unwillingness to take such action as should inflict injury upon innocent stockholders touched on the very psychological point where something of the sort was needed. The speech, which had been anticipated with mingled feelings and with great perplexity, had the striking result of reversing instantly the action of prices on the Stock Exchange, and causing a moderately sharp recovery in place of the preceding violent collapse.

One other statement in the President's speech was received with somewhat different feeling. It was this:

> It may well be that the determination of the Government, in which, gentlemen, it will not waver, to punish certain malefactors of great wealth, has been responsible for something of the troubles, at least to the extent of having caused these men to combine to bring about as much financial stress as they possibly can in order to discredit the policy of the Government.

As to this, the market's comment was that the President made a blunder in attempting to speak, at a juncture of this sort, of matters regarding which he could not possibly have personal knowledge. The attitude on the market of the so-called Standard Oil group of capitalists, to whom the President was very obviously referring in this paragraph, has been a mystery all along to the best informed financiers of Wall Street; it is hardly, therefore, to be supposed that the President, who is quite unacquainted with the details of finance, could have been any better informed. As to the actual facts regarding the attitude of the group to whom Mr. Roosevelt referred as "wealthy malefactors," this much has been pretty generally agreed on by the more thoughtful and well-posted element in Wall Street, that the very large capitalists en-

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gaged in the extravagant speculation for the rise last autumn had been left by the collapse of that speculation in a position where they had enormous burdens of their own to carry. It is capitalists of this and similar groups who have had to take up or underwrite the very numerous issues of railway notes and other securities to the amount within the year of nearly $1,000,000,000, and whose actual payments on that account are far from ended. Not all of this enormous mass of new securities has gone into the hands of groups of inside capitalists; but that a very great part of the issues has thus of necessity been provided for, is not only probable but certain. One of these underwritings—that of the Union Pacific's $75,000,000 bond issue—involved the payment by the underwriting syndicate itself of $40,000,000 in a lump on one day of this September. It may reasonably be asked whether a group of financiers in this position would be likely to lend its deliberate help to the further demoralization of the security and money markets. Their personal interests lay in the opposite direction. Such was at all events the conclusion of the markets. People interested in the foreign view of American finance may, however, take some interest in the following comment on this very passage of the President's speech, by so cautious and discreet an observer as the London *Economist:*

> The troubles which have developed in Wall Street are not the result of governmental action, though there is little doubt that, in order to discredit the Government, the rich "malefactors" who have manipulated corporate wealth in their own interests have resorted to combined action which has had the result of accentuating the disturbances in the stock markets. It is hardly likely that these tactics will deceive anybody, and the fact is being more and more appreciated that there will be no permanent stability in the American stock markets until either the law or public opinion renders impossible the practices which have brought discredit on American finance and inflicted grave injury on the commerce and industry of the United States.

High Money at London

Possibly the surest way to ascertain how far the attitude of the administration toward corporations was a fundamental influence in the declines of last summer's stock market will be to carry the retrospect of this season a little further, and see what other influences were manifestly at work. On Thursday, August 15th, the Bank of England suddenly announced an advance in its official discount rate to 4½ per cent. In itself, this rate was not exorbitantly high; it was, for instance, considerably below the charge made even then for discounting three months' paper in New York. But the Bank of England's attitude must be judged on a different basis. In the first place, it was at once observed that the 4½ per cent. rate fixed

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last August compared with a rate of only 3½ per cent. at the same date a year before, and that the autumn of 1906, though opening at that lower money market level, was marked by the acute strain on the English money market which resulted, early in October, in the sensational rise of the Bank of England's rate to 6 per cent., followed by threats of a 7 per cent. rate later on—a policy which was probably averted only through the release of its capital by Paris.

This was only one element in the comparison; but furthermore, a glance at the records showed at once that the Bank of England had never fixed its rate as high as 4½ per cent. in the middle of August during any year since 1890, and that with that exception no parallel could be found short of 1870. The 1890 comparison was necessarily unpleasant; it reminded people whose memories are longer than a decade of the fact that London's own situation was at that time so extremely precarious that protective measures had to be adopted perforce in August in order to guard the bank and the London money market against the strain which they then foresaw impending and which, when it came in November, resulted in the failure of Baring Brothers, and in the formidable London panic of that year.

In other words, the Bank of England seemed on the surface of things to have given warning last August that a situation graver than any witnessed in the past decade and a half was threatened on Europe's own market. For a few days the only evident result of this action by the Bank of England was a rise in the foreign exchange on London, so sharp that both at New York and Berlin, sterling touched a figure which ordinarily would have made gold exports from those markets to London profitable. On Saturday, August 17th, the real sequel to the bank's vigorous action was witnessed in a sensational situation which suddenly arose on the London market. Dispatches from Lombard Street to New York that day reported a state of disorder and apprehension on the credit market so serious that the description recalled no period so definitely as the well-remembered Saturday which preceded the failure of the house of Baring. During a few days there was undoubted apprehension, on all the important markets of the world, that something in the nature of a credit panic was about to break out in London.

The strain, however, was relaxed as suddenly as it had begun, and little by little the facts of the case leaked out. They were highly interesting. As readers of these articles will recall, the private banks of London had during all the autumn of 1906 insisted on increasing their loans to Wall Street, notwithstanding the protest of the Bank of England, and notwithstanding also the fact that the capital thus raised was being used

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to draw gold in quantity from the Bank of England to sustain New York bank reserves and support the extravagant Wall Street stock speculation. Only through the extreme measures taken by the Bank of England with its discount rate, and through personal pressure applied by the governors of the bank to directors of the London joint-stock institutions, was the wholesale granting of credit, by Lombard Street to Wall Street, eventually checked.

The case appears to be that, as 1907 drew on and the other side of the New York speculation became too manifest to be ignored, the very banks which a year before had insisted on feeding fuel to the speculative blaze in Wall Street went to the other extreme and by degrees fell into a spasm of terror over the New York situation. So far did they allow this ill-judged timidity to carry them that in the week when the Bank of England rate went up, they adopted an almost unanimous action of rejecting certain drafts, offered in large quantities by a large London banking house identified with the American stock speculation of the preceding winter. This firm by all accounts was absolutely solvent; at ordinary times no criticism would have been passed on its applications for credit. But these were not ordinary times, and the sudden and hysterical outbreak by the private banks created for twenty-four hours a situation which, if not managed with judgment and discretion, might very easily have involved the failure not of one but of several important houses.

Happily, the Bank of England, which had kept its head during the speculative debauch of the New York bankers and the London speculators a year ago, retained the same cool and decided policy, judgment, and discretion as characterized its action last August—announcing, to begin with, that all of the drafts thus thrown out by the private banks would be taken at the regular market rate by the Bank of England; a policy which, in a single week, expanded that institution's loans $20,000,000. The bank next applied the most vigorous sort of pressure to the frightened private bankers. It stated plainly what its own policy would be, and practically required of the London institutions that they should act in accordance with it. In so doing the Bank of England maintained the best traditions of its history, notably that which has to do with the famous occasion of the 1890 panic, when, with Lombard Street paralyzed in fright, and with the Chancellor of the Exchequer offering the option of suspension of gold payments at the bank, its governor, Mr. Lidderdale, rejected the Government's suggestion, called to its parlors the London private bankers, read them a lecture on the necessity of meeting panic with courage, and demanded that they should

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unite with it in guaranteeing the doubtful assets of the house of Baring. He had his way, as resolute men at such times are apt to have it, and thereby saved the situation from a collapse of credit which otherwise would undoubtedly have reached to the remotest quarters of the world where England maintained credit relations.

In this year's episode the outcome was more fortunate even than in that of 1890; the London banks resumed their ordinary lending operations; and before ten days were over every one, not only in London but in all other markets with which London had to do, was looking at his neighbor in a sort of perplexed surprise to ask what, after all, had happened. The indirect result of these remedial measures was that the strain relaxed, first on the London money market—the rate for private discounts falling in a week from 4⅞ to 4⅛ per cent. — then in such falling of the foreign exchanges that our own rate on London, which was fairly typical, dropped from 4.88, the normal gold export point, to 4.85½ in the middle of September, which was decidedly in favor of this country.

Along with this recovery of confidence came plain intimations that all normal and reasonable drafts on the London market made by first-class houses in anticipation of the harvest movement would be duly honored. The importance of this knowledge lay in the fact that the New York bank reserves had already reached a position where, with relief from London through the taking over of New York credits refused to it, a deficit in reserves must have been encountered before the close of August. As a result, instead of the loan expansion which was normally to have been expected in the absence of such advances by Lombard Street, loans of the Associated Banks, between August 3d and August 31st, decreased $38,000,000, and in two of the later weeks of August surplus reserves, instead of falling rapidly, as they almost invariably had done at that time of year, increased successively, reaching a figure more than $2,500,000 above the showing at the opening of August.

Beginning of Trade Embarrassment

It should be carefully observed that this crisis in London and the end of that peculiar strain were closely identical in time with the extreme decline and subsequent recovery on the New York Stock Exchange. It is not improbable that, as the season's market comes to be looked upon in longer retrospect, this London situation will be allotted the more important share in the movement of the season. While, however, this more or less critical situation was developing on the foreign markets Wall Street began to learn of industrial corporations which were in trouble in the credit market. On August 14th the failure of the Pope

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Manufacturing Company, a $21,000,000 trade combination for the manufacture of bicycles and automobiles, was announced. It was followed by one or two minor suspensions of the sort.

Naturally, this embarrassment of a concern with so much capital led to instant misgivings as to how far the impairment of credit facilities would go. When, however, this particular episode was studied more carefully in the light of well-known facts, it was found that the case was by no means fairly typical. The company in question, whose standing in the field of manufacture was unquestionably high, fell a victim to exceedingly unsound finance. Organized in 1903 out of a combination of other concerns, which themselves had already found it difficult to meet the requirements of their heavy capitalization, the Pope Company capitalized itself with $21,000,000 stock, of which $2,390,000 had the claim to "cumulative dividends" at the rate of 6 per cent., and $8,633,000 to cumulative dividends of 5 per cent. A slight calculation will serve to show that in order to pay even these two dividends, giving nothing on the common stock, $574,000 annually would be required. But in its very first year of operation, the company's net earnings in excess of manufacturing expenses and interest payments were no more than $50,993. Not only so, but provision of working capital at the organization of the company had been so completely inadequate that the surplus on the balance sheet in 1906 amounted to only $23,860. These facts will make it easy for the reader to see exactly how far the failure of this company marked a generally dangerous situation in the field of credit.

Reduction of Railway Dividends

As a matter of fact, other disasters of this sort, rumored in August as a sequel to this one insolvency, failed to materialize at the time. To what extent continuance during the present autumn of the present partial blockade of credit will result in further impairment of companies in a vulnerable financial position is perhaps an open question. No such catastrophe of any consequence occurred in the month following the Pope Company episode. A few weeks later, however, the credit situation made itself felt in another direction, which served to cause serious apprehension in quite a different quarter of the market. On August 23d the Southern Railway, which since 1902 had been paying 5 per cent. annual dividends on its preferred stock, voted to reduce those dividends from a 5 per cent. annual rate to one of 3. Five days later, on August 28th, the Erie Railroad, which had been paying 4 per cent. annual dividends on its $47,000,000 first preferred stock since 1903, and 4 per cent. on its $16,000,000 second preferred stock since 1905, an-

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nounced that it would pay no cash dividend this time on either, but would issue, to the amount of the usual 4 per cent. dividend, what it called dividend warrants, which were practically notes at 4 per cent., redeemable in cash in 1917.

It was natural that this action regarding dividends should have awakened much uneasiness, for the sufficiently strong reason that many railways had increased dividend rates last autumn at a time when, though earnings were increasing, prudent finance should have dictated in the existing money market careful husbanding of resources. To predict a similar cutting of dividends by other railway companies would, however, be as unwarranted at this time as prediction of general trouble among manufacturing concerns as a sequel to the Pope Manufacturing failure. The case both of the Southern Railway and the Erie was peculiar. Each had been classed among the financially weaker railways of the country. Both were reorganized from absolute railway wrecks, and in each the new scheme of capitalization was proposed to the markets at a time when recovery from the depression of 1893 had not made such progress as it had achieved when the greater companies, like the Union Pacific, were reorganized. The natural result was that, with both these railways, provisions of working capital and adjustment of liabilities to the possible needs of an active industrial future were inadequately made.

Whether the directors of these companies were justified in paying during the past three years the dividends on which they took their retroactive steps during August is a much-debated question. My personal belief is, that the fixing of such dividends was extremely injudicious. But whatever is to be said regarding that policy in general, there can be no doubt that had dividend payments been postponed for several years beyond the time when they were decided on, the position of the companies at this time would have been vastly different in the credit markets from what it is to-day. As regards their actual situation, this was the state of things: The Southern Railway found itself this past year in a position where, although actual earnings were increasing, expenses were increasing in an even greater ratio, and where, furthermore, the company's poor credit in such a money market as has existed during the present year made necessary unusually large appropriations of cash from income to the improvement of the road. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, the company's gross earnings increased $3,016,000, but operating expenses increased $4,926,000, of which increase no less than $3,441,000 lay in the item known as "cost of conducting transportation," where it recorded in the main necessarily increased wages for its em-

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ployees. In addition, fixed charges in the way of interest on its debt had increased $1,269,000 from the previous year, the result being that the 5 per cent. dividend on the preferred stock had not been earned by $710,000.

Under such circumstances there was no reasonable recourse for the company except to reduce its dividend. Erie's case was somewhat different. So far as the company's surplus earnings were concerned, it might have paid the 4 per cent. dividend on its two classes of preferred stock, have charged off the usual amount from income for improvements, and still have shown a surplus of $1,705,000 applicable to dividends. Such a surplus would have been abundantly sufficient to pay the dividend; but, on the other hand, the fact remained that need for improvements on the property was urgent, and that the Erie was unable to borrow in the open money market the necessary capital. Under these conditions the directors adopted the "warrant" or "scrip dividend" expedient, as already described. In the main, this action amounted to paying dividends to preferred shareholders and then exacting from them a forced loan of the same amount at a rate considerably below the market.

There is doubtless something to say on both sides when the propriety of this operation is discussed. Preferred shareholders have very generally contended that this granting to them of a future right to a dividend temporarily surrendered was entirely proper, since under any other circumstances the interests of common shareholders were subserved at the expense of the preferred. In reply to this, it has been contended that, since the Erie's difficulties largely arose from the fact that its credit was not good enough to provide the needed funds in a market such as this, an expedient whereby the company was put still further into debt had little to justify it. As a matter of history, the expedient of scrip dividends has resulted almost invariably in creation of permanent debt. Whatever may be said of this consideration, the conclusion may at all events be fairly made that the case of the Southern and the Erie was peculiar, and that the dividend reductions which were forced on them do not necessarily mean a similar policy by other and stronger corporations.

Of this question of trade reaction I shall speak more at length in a moment; a word must first be said of two other incidents which had much to do with the unsettled market in August, and which played an essential part in the recovery of September. The first of these was the New York City loan. I have heretofore reviewed the experience of New York City early in the year, in its efforts to place loans at the 4 per cent.

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rate established in November, 1905, after it was found impracticable to float any more loans at 3½ per cent. under the standing restriction of a minimum price of par. The situation during the present year may be briefly reviewed. When, in the $30,000,000 offer of city 4 per cents. on February 1st, $2,489,000 bonds failed to be taken, the New York City Finance Department went to the State legislature, asking that the existing law, which permitted no higher rate than 4 per cent., be altered so as to admit of the naming a higher interest rate. This authority was granted, but it was not at once utilized by the city. The comptroller, reasoning that holders of the older 4 per cents. and 3½ per cents. would be injured through the depreciation in their investments which would follow the naming of a higher rate at once for the city bonds, made another effort to place a block of bonds at 4 per cent.

New York City's Bonds

On June 28th, $29,000,000 fours were offered, of which in the end only $2,121,840 were taken, the bids for this small part of the loan averaging only an insignificant fraction over par. On August 12th another offer of $15,000,000 bonds was made—still at the 4 per cent. rate—but of this only $2,713,485 were applied for, and those bids were only par. In the light of subsequent events, there can be little doubt that the comptroller's office made a mistake in holding so long to the 4 per cent. rate; it will be seen from the sequel that a good deal of trouble and financial misgiving would have been averted had the plunge been taken at the start, as soon as authority was granted by the legislature. However this may be, the city was now confronted with a situation in which an immense number of expensive contracts were falling due for payment against which it had no money on hand to make payment. During the summer a highly injudicious recourse was adopted by the city, which was to sell bonds, as the expression is, "over the counter"—that is to say, to offer them either to small bidders or to contractors flat in payment of their claims.

It appeared that something like $8,000,000 were taken on such terms as this; but in the meantime the price of outstanding New York City 4 per cents. had fallen to 95, or five points under the price paid at the time of their issue in August and June; so that the proposition to contractors at any rate, who had to use the proceeds to pay debts, virtually amounted to asking them to accept a 5 per cent. discount on the money disbursed to them. It was hardly to be expected that business firms would accept such a proposition with enthusiasm. By the end of August, quiet conferences between the city and the bankers led to the taking of a more resolute position, and on August 26th the announcement was suddenly

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made that no less than $40,000,000 bonds would be offered by the city, bearing the rate of 4½ per cent.

The reception given to this announcement by the market was different in all respects from what might have been anticipated. Instead of showing alarm and bewilderment over the news that on September 10th so large an amount of new securities would be placed on the market, the news was welcomed as putting an end to a highly disturbing condition. The result of the offering was to dispel all foolish doubts regarding either the city's credit or the money market's inability to provide at a price all the capital needed by sound and deserving borrowers. Bids amounting in number to 960, and in total amount to $207,000,000, were received on September 10th for the $40,000,000 offer, and what was still more interesting was the evidence, from the names on the applications, that European capital had played practically no part. On the other hand, the price received did not vary greatly from 102, and although a fortnight later the same bonds sold on the stock exchange at 107¾ this had to be considered in the light of the facts that as lately as February, 1906, 4 per cent. bonds were placed by the city in a $20,000,000 lot at 108, and that in February, 1902, a loan at 3½ per cent. brought an average price of 107½.

The Crops

The second matter to which reference is necessary in order that the pending situation may be understood has to do with the crops of 1907. It will be recalled in what precarious situation the American grain crops were left at the time the last article in these pages was concluded. All that seemed certain then was that the American grain crop would be far below the yield of 1906, and that it might be so deficient that even with the expected shortage in the crops of Europe our farmers would not be able to spare sufficient wheat for export to create any very respectable balance on the international market. To sum up briefly what has happened since, it may be said that the utterly abnormal springtime weather, which threatened the growing crops from the middle of April up to the opening of June, was followed, during the three succeeding months, by almost perfect growing weather—as a result of which, the outcome of the harvest is favorable in a degree which four months ago would have seemed inconceivable. While our own crop has so far recovered its lost ground as to promise a yield of wheat not far below the crop of 1903, and very much above the yield of 1904, though still 100,000,000 bushels under the great harvest of 1906, the bad condition of harvests on the European continent be-

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came increasingly evident. Estimates published at the close of August showed that in Austria-Hungary the yield would fall 80,000,000 bushels below last year; that Germany's shortage below the yield of 1906 would be 40,000,000 bushels; that of the Danube states nearly 90,000,000 bushels and even England's 10,000,000 bushels. France and Germany alone of the European states were scheduled as producing more in 1907 than in 1906. The total indicated yield of Europe falls off 181,000,000 bushels from the crop of 1906 and falls very much below the yield of any year since 1901. How serious was this shortage in Europe, as compared with the shortage in the United States, may be judged from the following table compiled by the Liverpool *Corn Trade News*. The estimates for the United States in this vary considerably from those current in America, but make much the same comparison with previous years:

	U. S. A. Bushels.	Europe. Bushels.	Whole World. Bushels.
1907	584,000,000	1,656,320,000	3,024,320,000
1906	664,000,000	1,837,920,000	3,286,720,000
1905	608,000,000	1,820,000,000	3,208,560,000
1904	496,000,000	1,711,008,000	2,931,328,000
1903	568,000,000	1,870,824,000	3,235,864,000

When it is asked exactly how this situation should have affected either prices or export trade reference should be had to another extremely interesting table drawn up at the same time by the *Corn Trade News*, and giving the estimated requirements of importing countries from the wheat crop of this year compared with 1906, and the estimated supplies of exporting countries. The table was as follows, in quarters of eight bushels each:

REQUIREMENTS.	1907. Quarters.	1906. Quarters.
United Kingdom	27,000,000	26,200,000
France	1,800,000	1,800,000
Germany	11,000,000	9,000,000
Belgium and Holland	8,500,000	8,800,000
Italy	5,000,000	5,500,000
Spain and Portugal	2,000,000	1,000,000
Scandinavia	2,000,000	2,000,000
Switzerland	2,300,000	2,300,000
Greece	600,000	600,000
Austria-Hungary	1,500,000	.....
Total Continent	34,700,000	31,000,000
Total Europe	61,700,000	57,200,000
Ex-European countries	10,000,000	10,300,000
Grand total	71,700,000	67,500,000

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SUPPLIES

	1907. Quarters.	1906. Quarters.
United States	15,000,000	18,600,000
Canada	4,000,000	5,100,000
Russia	15,000,000	11,600,000
Balkan States	5,000,000	9,600,000
Argentina	14,000,000	13,650,000
Australasia	4,500,000	3,700,000
India	4,000,000	3,700,000
Austria-Hungary	.....	700,000
Minor countries	1,000,000	1,030,000
Total	62,500,000	67,680,000

What will most forcibly strike the readers of these figures is that available supplies on the international market are figured out as falling 9,200,000 quarters, or 73,600,000 bushels, short of the actual needs of importing States. The table above, in its estimate of requirements and supplies for 1906, shows how radical is the difference in the state of things this year as compared with a year ago. The *Corn Trade News* itself remarked on this exhibit that "we cannot trace any former exhibit at all comparable to it." In fact, the world's wheat crop of 1903 showed, by the final estimate, a surplus of 67,000,000 quarters at a time when requirements were only 60,000,000. In some degree, this latter state of things as compared with 1906 has already been reflected in the price of wheat, whose advance in the later summer, after the natural relapse from the exciting springtime speculation, brought our market to a figure 25 cents a bushel above the price of a year ago. The situation, then, at the present moment is apparently that Europe, when the genuine grain-importing period arrives, must bid heavily for the American supplies of wheat, and must pay the American price. That this country would be able, with an apparent hundred-million-bushel decrease from the yield of 1906, to match the export trade of the twelve months following last year's harvest is not to be supposed. But allowance must be very largely made, first, for the difference in total values due to the 25 per cent. increase in the average price, and, second, for the fact, already mentioned in THE FORUM, that on March 1st this year supplies of wheat left over in American farmers' hands exceeded all records in our history, reaching the figure of 206,644,000 bushels as compared with 158,403,000 on March 1, 1906, and 111,055,000 at the same date in 1905.

That this changed outlook for the cereal export trade has materially influenced London's attitude on the lending of capital to New York in August and September, in advance of the actual export of the crops,

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no doubt whatever can exist. At the same time, estimates on the cotton crop, which at first in the days of the disheartening springtime weather had been thought to promise something much like a harvest failure, worked out to indicate a crop between 12,500,000 and 13,000,000 bales. This would at least approximately cover the spinning world's requirements of American cotton; it would fall far short either of the 13,565,000 bale crop of 1904 or of last year's crop, which, after all the absurd underestimates of the trade and the Government, which named 12,500,000 bales, was finally proved at the end of August to have amounted to 13,500,000. But with cotton, as with wheat, a higher price does much to make up in total values on the export trade. At the opening of September cotton sold at New York for export at 13½ cents per pound, when the highest September price was 9⅞ in 1906 and 11⅛ in 1905.

As to Trade Reaction

To what extent this singular situation in the crops will affect financial developments such as were feared a few months earlier, is as yet a matter of conjecture; the consideration which still, after all the vicissitudes of the Stock Exchange are allowed for, stands first in the calculations of Wall Street and of the financial public generally, is the question of trade reaction. Throughout the past three months it has been insisted by practically all experts in the financial markets, both of this country and of Europe, that nothing short of decided relaxation in the demands of trade on capital could bring a solution of the strained situation. Reaction in trade was not only predicted in such quarters during the summer, but was watched for anxiously. Even people who feared the result of such a backward movement on ambitious traders and over-capitalized corporations nevertheless expressed the hope that the reactive movement would come soon.

To an extent it has come. Prices of commodities, notably in the metal trade, have relaxed perceptibly. At the opening of September the price of iron was $5.50 per ton lower than at the earlier high level of the year, a decline of 21 per cent.; tin had declined in almost equal measure, and copper, on which for various reasons special attention had been converged, had experienced something like a collapse of price. Earlier in the year, the great copper producing companies of America had fixed a price of 26 cents per pound and were holding out for it. How extravagantly high this price was as compared with other years may be judged from the fact that the "pegged price" fixed by the Amalgamated Copper in 1901, as a result of which occurred the celebrated "crash" in the copper market of that autumn, was only 17 cents.

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Yet 17 cents was at that time pronounced exorbitant and unreasonable by the consuming community and by all competent critics. During the strain on the markets in the first half of this year the price of copper on the London market broke with considerable violence and quotations on the New York Metal Exchange were also substantially below the 26 cent level of the producers. Nevertheless, no change in the producers' policy was made, and, in fact, the official heads of the large producing companies answered all protests or queries by reference to the fact that supplies in the hands of consumers were small, trade requirements unquestionably large, and actual demand sufficient to ensure the retention of the price. Most of them echoed the public statement made in July by Mr. H. H. Rogers, president of the Amalgamated Copper Company, that "I don't know why the price of copper should change—certainly not for lower values."

What all these experts overlooked was the fact that demand and supply are relative, and that trade requirements, which are imperative at a time of easy money and abundant supply of capital, may be postponed or cancelled entirely, sometimes of necessity, when such a situation changes. The situation had already changed, and hardly a day after Mr. Rogers's interview the large producing companies had to bow to the inevitable, reducing their price at one stroke to 20 cents a pound. A few more weeks proved this reduction to be inadequate, and in the first week of September a further cut to 18 cents was made, followed by successive cuts which brought the price, in the last weeks of September, down to the neighborhood of 15 cents. Even this cut failed to attract the buyers; at the present writing demand has hardly been stimulated at the lower level, one of the largest producing companies has already reduced its quarterly dividend, and some of the largest producers are planning a 50 per cent. reduction of output. If from these surveys of individual prices one glances at the general movement in values of commodities, an interesting survey is given by the London *Economist* monthly index number of commercial prices heretofore quoted in these articles. This is a monthly record for the present year to date, showing infallibly when the turn came in the general range of prices and in the cost of living:

September 1	2,519	April 1	2,516
August 1	2,571	March 1	2,521
July 1	2,594	February 1	2,494
June 1	2,601	January 1	2,499
May 1	2,549	December 1, 1906	2,501

How much further this shrinkage is to go, depends on the general

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movement of trade, and on the extent to which the accruing increment of capital will overtake demand. Certainly it must be admitted that, when capital is hard for borrowers to obtain, consumers in all great industries will be more cautious in making plans, and producers more reluctant in holding back supplies from market. Pursuit of either policy must involve the men adopting it in large applications to the money market which they would naturally avoid at times like this; yet if each course of action were to be abandoned—if producers were to sell freely and consumers to buy sparingly—prices of course must suffer. As to the broader aspects of this question of supply and demand in the feeling for investment capital, I have already stated in a previous number the principles controlling it. This article may properly be closed by citing a very notable review of this phase of the situation published in July, from the pen of the eminent French economist, M. Leroy-Beaulieu. Reckoning that the United States is planning to spend in a year for its financial and industrial undertakings $2,000,000,000 to $2,500,000,000, to be raised from the general markets, he continues:

> Probably the annually accruing capital of the United States does not reach one-third of this sum. It was therefore necessary to find the remainder—seven to eight thousand million francs—on foreign markets. But the outside world itself is far from having any such sum of ready capital to dispose of.
>
> Not only so, but almost all the nations are finding need at home for the full amount of their annual savings. Germany absorbs all its own capital, and runs short at that; the same is true of Austria, Russia, Italy, and Spain. So also of the Scandinavian states. Only four countries, the oldest reservoirs of capital in the modern world, are to-day in a position to export it—England, France, Belgium, and Holland. And even of these, England's capacity for providing surplus capital has been greatly reduced since the South African War, and what still can be spared goes largely to the British colonies.
>
> In short, the growing industrial states, particularly the new countries, are at this moment demanding more capital than the whole world has accumulated recently, or is accumulating to-day. From this fact follow two consequences: first, that the users of this capital have to pay more for it, in the shape of a higher interest rate; second, that they will be compelled to postpone or extend for several years many enterprises on which they had decided and for which they had already made preparations.
>
> Under these conditions there has been inevitably some check to the marvellous expansion of industry which has been going on for two years past. Markets, industrial and financial, must in a measure reduce their scale of prices, and in some proportion the price of raw material must come down.

But he concludes with a note of optimism:

> The existing situation in the financial markets offers to capitalists and investors generally the opportunity—of which they have been deprived for nearly twenty years—of obtaining a suitable return on their invested capital.

Alexander D. Noyes.

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APPLIED SCIENCE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POWER AS A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT

BY HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE

Power not Produced by the Lower Animals

In endeavoring to find some wholly characteristic difference between man and the lower animals, various features have been considered. Among these a recent writer has emphasized the point that man alone has achieved the feat of the artificial production of power. It is an admitted fact that certain of the higher apes have been known to apply the lever, in the form of the branch of a tree or the trunk of a sapling, to the impression of a force greater than was possible by unaided muscular effort, but the nearest approach which an animal appears to have made to the control of a source of power in Nature seems to be that of the beaver in the building of a dam to raise the level of the water in a stream, and thus form a sort of mill-pond. Here, however, the beaver stops short, and with the obtaining of an artificial head of water he makes no attempt to utilize it except as a place by which to build his huts.

Animal Power First Employed by Man

Doubtless the first attempts of man to accomplish tasks too great for individual effort were directed to the combination of the strength of assembled numbers of men, and the inscriptions of past undertakings, so far as they have been preserved, show the great extent to which human labor was thus applied in Assyria, Egypt, India and elsewhere. To-day in China such methods are still used, and ingenious devices for equalizing the distribution of effort show themselves to be the outcome of long experience with the management of great numbers of laborers and slaves.

Following closely upon the employment of men as machines, comes the more or less scientific use of animal power, principally for transportation and for traction, or sometimes, as in the case of the use of the elephant in India, for the handling of materials. The closeness which still exists between the general notion of power and of animal effort appears in the fact that until very recently the term "horse-power"

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was about the only one generally understood as a unit of power measurement, and it is yet the expression most generally used, even for such anomalous applications as the evaporative capacity of a steam boiler or the motive power of a dirigible balloon. With all the development of artificial sources of energy, animal power continues to hold its own for certain purposes, especially where low cost is essential. In spite of the perfection of mechanical appliances for canal traction, there has not yet been produced an appliance which can compete with animal haulage on the inland waterway, so far as cheapness is concerned.

Wind, Water, and Steam Power

Probably next to animal power the energy of the wind was first systematically controlled by man, its obvious use for the propulsion of vessels naturally following upon the earliest beginnings of navigation. From the sail on a boat to the sail on a windmill seems a brief step, although, like many obvious things, it was long years in being perceived. Again, because of its cheapness and simplicity the windmill is still employed in a limited way, but remains principally a survival in a world of new methods of power manufacture.

The development of artificial power from the energy contained in flowing and falling water seems to have taken a course almost the reverse of that which might have been supposed. For long centuries the use of manual labor, animal labor, wind power had been directed to the elevation of water. The *shadoof* on the Nile, the chain of gourds or buckets used in China to-day, as it was in earliest times, these and all the following devices for lifting water from streams, wells and springs were known long before any attempt was made to reverse the process and obtain artificial power from falling water.

The lack of methods of power transmission limited the use of water power to sources conveniently situated with respect to the work to be done, and until the last few years this prevented some of the most extensive natural falls of water from being developed. In the meantime, however, one of the greatest transformations in the relations of man to his surroundings occurring within historical periods took place, the development of the manufacture of power by the means of heat.

It is difficult, in the light of our modern surroundings, to realize the conditions of life in which practically all the power available was that obtainable from the muscular effort of men and of animals, and yet such was the actual state of affairs for by far the greater portion of mankind a little more than one hundred years ago. The enormous difference between those days and the present is realized to a far lesser degree than

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would be the case could we be transferred back a hundred years, or could an educated man of a hundred years ago be placed in our midst to-day. Even in comparatively unimportant matters it is exceedingly difficult for a man to consider a subject in the light of the knowledge and surroundings of twenty-five or thirty years ago, and it is almost impossible to grasp clearly at the present moment the actual conditions of a life in which little or no artificial power was available.

Lack of transportation facilities rendered communities isolated and provincial in manners, occupations and habits of thought. Lack of power caused manufacturing to be in fact what the etymology of the word indicates, the making of practically everything by hand. The windmill and the water wheel were used, it is true, to grind the wheat which manual effort could hardly prepare; and in low countries, as to-day, the power of the wind pumped water from the drainage sumps of meadows by the sea. Beyond this, however, all work was done by the main strength of horse and ox and man. Transport was by coach, wagon, or canal, and even this latter method was limited and infrequent. Iron was made only from the richest ores, in the most primitive manner, by hand labor and in small quantities, while steel was produced only as a special product of much value for edge tools and similar purposes.

When, after much difficulty, the expansive action of steam under the influence of heat was controlled by Newcomen, Smeaton, and Watt, the first purpose to which the newly invented "fire-engine" was applied was the drainage of mines by direct connection to the pumps, and a number of years elapsed before the steam engine was arranged to produce rotative motion, adapted to the driving of machinery.

Power-Driven Machinery

In fact, until such a source of motive power was made available there was little machinery to drive, but soon the devices for performing work began to multiply in the face of means for their operation. The commercial supremacy of Great Britain dates practically from the development within her borders of the art of manufacturing power from the coal deposits with which she was so richly endowed, and it has only been by following in her paths that the industries of Germany, Belgium and the United States have reached their present magnitude.

Although the manufacture of power from the combustion of coal has really been in active operation for little more than a century, the limitations of this source of power-production are already beginning to be seen. There is no new coal being produced; and in spite of the economies which have been effected in its conversion from potential into actual

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energy, the store which Nature has provided is being consumed at a continually increasing rate. Other natural fuels are being exploited at a like rate. Petroleum and its derivatives can be used only with the certainty that the continually decreasing supply will mean a continually increasing cost. Natural gas has already passed the days of plenteousness which led to reckless extravagance. The natural accumulations of the past cannot last more than a few centuries, and must be replaced by other sources of power.

Consumption of Natural Stores of Energy

It has been observed by many scientists that all sources of energy on the earth may be ultimately referred to the action of the sun. To the sun, then, we must look for the supply of power for the future. As the coal supply of the present represents vegetable growths of the past, it is not impossible that new fuel may be grown, and indeed this is already becoming practicable. The recent development of methods for manufacturing and utilizing alcohol from a variety of vegetable wastes must lead to the use of this form of liquid fuel, and while the extent to which this may be found applicable is yet problematical, at least it involves the sound principle of the development of a fuel supply which is renewable yearly and is not abstracted from an ancient and continually diminishing store.

Renewable Sources of Power

Water power has always been a source of energy derived from present and continuous transformations, and the elevation of water from lower levels to higher by the daily processes of evaporation and precipitation represents the conversion of enormous quantities of active solar energy into available mechanical power.

During the past decade an enormous impetus has been given to the development of natural sources of hydraulic power by the application of electric transmission systems to their utilization. The ability to deliver electrical energy over wide areas for utilization in manufacturing industries has caused a revival in the development of the power of falling water to an extent not otherwise possible. With the first successful utilization of Niagara power, and its delivery to many tributary industrial centres, there has grown up a department for the manufacture of power which takes the water supply wherever found and delivers its energy where it can be utilized.

Hydro-Electric Power Development

The great waterfalls naturally occur first to the mind when such methods of development are considered, and the exploitation of Niagara

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is followed by plans for the utilization of such cataracts as the falls of the Zambesi, in South Africa, and of Iguazu, in Brazil. There are hundreds of minor falls, however, in all parts of the world capable of development, in addition to those already partially utilized. It is estimated that there is now developed by hydro-electric stations in the United States energy equal to three-quarters of a million horse-power, while in Canada there is one-third of a million and in Switzerland one-quarter of a million horse-power already utilized. France has also harnessed as much as Switzerland, while Great Britain has thus far utilized only about 15,000 horse-power.

The Economics of Water Conservation

These figures, however, represent for the most part the development of natural waterfalls. The actual manufacture of hydraulic power is proceeding on an altogether broader plan in many places. Instead of depending upon the formation of natural cataracts, or of convenient locations where marked differences of level are not far separated, the whole question of the regulation and conservation of water flow is included in the power problem. One of the essentials of a satisfactory water power is that it shall be as free as possible from marked fluctuations. This consideration, however, is also greatly to be desired for other reasons. The conversion of a torrential stream into a well-regulated watercourse prevents the scouring away of the bed and the erosion of fertile soil; it benefits agriculture, and it aids and reacts upon the efforts which are made for forest protection.

The construction of storage reservoirs for power development, therefore, enters into the development of the natural resources of a country in more ways than one, and, unlike methods for the manufacture of power from the combustion of coal and the destruction of a store of past energy, represents the conservation of the present supply of power.

In Germany much excellent work has been done in this direction as a consequence of efforts of the late Professor Intze, whose talents in the judicious regulation and control of watersheds amounted to genius. The works planned by him and executed under his direction in Westphalia and in the Rhine provinces are represented by 16 large reservoirs, available both for water supply and for stream regulation. Of these, the Urft Valley reservoir enables the development of 5,000 horse-power, while the Möhne Valley station represents 2,000 horse-power. These represent what is being accomplished in many parts of Europe, not by the harnessing of important existing waterfalls, but by the scientific development of regulating works on moderate watersheds, in which the

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control of the flow is in itself a valuable improvement apart from the power development.

A more notable example of the development of hydro-electric power as an adjunct to a broader problem of water control appears in the plant already forming a portion of the Chicago Drainage Canal. In diverting the flow of the Chicago River from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi there has been developed an effective fall of 34 feet, with a sufficient volume of water to permit the production of about 40,000 horse-power. One-half of this is already converted into electrical energy, and made available for delivery from Lockport, the site of the power station, to Chicago, and the full amount of power will ultimately be utilized. Here the manufacture of power is associated not with the destruction of stored energy of past ages, but with the utilization of a continually renewed source of power, in connection with its diversion to the still wider use of the drainage of the sanitary district.

Combustion Motors

By far the greater portion of the power manufactured at the present time is developed from the combustion of coal, and of this, again, the greatest part is produced from steam engines and boilers. It is estimated that at the present time there is nearly 15,000,000 horse-power developed in the United States, of which more than 10,000,000 horse-power is produced by the burning of coal, about 100,000,000 tons being consumed in the operation.

About 300,000 horse-power, it is estimated, is derived from gas engines, or, as they are better termed, internal-combustion engines, and yet there is no doubt whatever that the internal-combustion engine, burning the gaseous fuel directly in the power cylinder, requires but one-half as much coal per horse-power as the steam engine.

There is at the present time a rapidly growing interest in the development of the combustion engine, and it is probable that in many power plants to be erected in the near future the steam boiler and engine will be replaced by the gas producer and combustion engine. This is the more probable since the structural and operative difficulties encountered in the early attempts to make large gas engines have been practically overcome, and gas engines in units as large as 3,000 horse-power are successfully built and operated. Apart from the fact that the gas engine uses the heat twice as efficiently as the steam engine in the conversion of the latent energy of the fuel into useful work, it has also the still greater advantage of offering the possibility of utilizing fuels of low grade unsuited for use in the boiler furnace.

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Thus there are numerous coals containing such a large proportion of ash that they cannot be burned to advantage under a steam boiler and yet are well adapted to the manufacture of fuel gas in the gas producer, and thus well adapted for power generation with the gas engine. In like manner the so-called lignites or brown coals, of which large deposits exist in the western part of the United States and in Germany, become available for the manufacture of power. It is also found that peat, notwithstanding the large proportion of moisture which it contains, makes an excellent fuel for the gas producer.

Gas Power from Low-Grade Fuels

Until comparatively recently it was assumed very generally that the gas engine was a small, rather noisy machine, suited for small workshops, printing offices and the like, but that it could become a rival to the steam engine was not for a moment considered.

The Large Gas Engine

At the Paris Exposition of 1900 there was shown a gas engine of 1,000 horse-power, built by the famous Cockerill Works at Liège, and arranged for driving a blast-furnace blowing engine. Before the close of the exposition that engine bore a placard stating that it had been sold nearly one hundred times over. Since then the large gas engine has made rapid development, as to-day single units as large as 3,000 horse-power are regularly built, and in Germany, especially, the large gas engine has become an important industrial product.

An important element in the development of the large gas engine is found in the discovery, originally due to Mr. B. H. Thwaite, that the waste gases emitted from the ordinary blast furnace in the course of the manufacture of pig iron formed an excellent fuel for the gas engine. All that is necessary is to pass the gas through some form of cleaning apparatus, such as a spray of water, or a tower filled with wetted coke or pumice, to remove the fine dust with which it is charged, and the gas may be delivered directly to the cylinders of the gas engine and there converted into power. It has been shown that for every ton of pig iron produced in a modern blast furnace there is generated sufficient gas to develop 700 horse-power-hours, and that a furnace producing 10 tons per hour, or 240 tons per day, is also capable of furnishing 7,000 horse-power after the necessary gas to heat the blast has been deducted.

Power from Waste Furnace Gases

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As this is more than double the amount of power required for the operation of the blowing engines and other machinery used in connection with the furnace, there is here a source for a large supply of power for other uses, and by the aid of electric transmission it becomes possible to make all large iron-producing plants centres from which power may be distributed.

The Commercial Exploitation of Power

The development of this method for the manufacture of power has been retarded for reasons which, although not directly mechanical, may be mentioned here because they bear directly upon all plans for the development of power as a by-product of other industrial operations. The distribution and sale of power forms an important and peculiar business by itself. In some respects it resembles the supply of water or of illuminating gas, and it is for such reasons that it has been sometimes considered as especially adapted for municipal control or ownership. It involves dealings with many customers of different kinds, and when once started on the service must be maintained without interruption and with a minimum of irregularity.

Under such conditions the power supply becomes a rather onerous department of a business primarily devoted to some other purpose, and few iron manufacturers are willing to enter into the utilization of a by-product of their main business when they realize that it involves them in the undertaking of a new and intricate business from which it may be difficult to escape should it prove undesirable. The solution of this part of the problem appears to lie in the adoption of methods which have been found successful in connection with the development of great hydro-electric power centres; that is, to place the distribution and sale of the power in the hands of an auxiliary organization devoted entirely to the purpose. There is little difficulty in maintaining a sufficient supply of gas of an approximately uniform quality from blast furnaces when there are a number of furnaces in operation, since the discharge from the various furnaces may be mixed and cleaned and controlled in such a manner that no serious interruption to the operation of the engines using the supply need be feared. The true method of developing this important source of power appears to lie, then, in the organization of a power company, independently of the iron works, this company taking all the waste gases from the iron works and assuming itself the responsibility of the power house with its gas engines, dynamos and electric distribution system, and handling the sale of the power on its own account.

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Another source of gas power which as yet has not been developed, but is awaiting exploitation, appears in the enormous quantities of waste slack coal and culm which have accumulated about the coal mines. Much of this material is suitable for the manufacture of power gas adapted for use in gas engines, but it cannot be placed upon the market at a price which warrants its use. The great difficulty in all the plans which have been proposed to convert this material into a marketable fuel has been the question of transportation, or rather of transportation costs. Artificial fuels made from coal dust are generally more friable than the original coal lumps, and the cost of transportation in any case becomes the controlling element in the cost of power made directly from such fuel. I referred, however, in the last issue of THE FORUM to a method for the utilization of such low-grade fuels by their conversion into fuel-gas at the mines, the gas itself being delivered through pipe lines by pumping to the manufacturing centres where it can be utilized for power manufacture. That gas can be so pumped over long distances at a moderate cost has already been demonstrated by the successful operation of pipe lines for the transportation of natural gas. A similar system can undoubtedly be applied to the delivery of produced gas from the mines to the cities, and by a simple arrangement of relay pumping stations, the pumps being operated by gas engines taking their supply from the mains, the pressure in the pipe line need not be high.

Gas from Coal-mining Districts

There is then an ample supply of fuel gas at the present time available for the manufacturing centres of the United States, England and Germany, only awaiting proper organization and equipment to make it ready for service. Experience has shown, however, that there are certain features about the development of gas power which demand especial attention in order that the full advantages of the method may be realized.

Central Gas-Power Stations

When the gas engine was first introduced it was in small units and very often for work of an intermittent nature. As such engines were nearly always operated with the illuminating gas of the regular city supply, the cost of the fuel was high, and the real thermal efficiency of the machine did not enable it to be offered as a cheap source of power. One of the principal advantages which it afforded was the production of power without requiring the attendance of a skilled engineer, and with-

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out the expense of a boiler and a fireman. With the development of the large gas engine conditions have changed somewhat. The high thermal efficiency of the machine is its chief claim to consideration, and in order to obtain the very best results it is essential that the engine should be designed for the work which it is to perform, and that it be placed in the hands of skilled operators, thoroughly familiar with its peculiar requirements.

The steam engine has been in use long enough to have acquired a reputation for extreme reliability, and there is no doubt that it is this feature of assured confidence in its reliable operation which has enabled the steam engine to hold its own commercially so well against the gas engine. When reliability is once assured there is little doubt that the fuel economy of the gas engine, representing at least one-half the consumption of coal over that required by the steam engine for the same power development, will cause gas power to assume its proper position.

This element of reliability can doubtless be best secured by devoting especial care to the design and construction of the gas engine in large units, such engines being installed in central power houses where they can receive continual supervision by skilled attendants, the power thus developed being distributed electrically to the various manufacturing establishments where it is to be applied. Under such conditions, using gas derived either from the cheapest forms of fuel, gasified at the mines and piped to the power house, or as a by-product from metallurgical furnaces, coke ovens or the like, the full economy of the internal-combustion engine may be secured with as high a degree of reliability as is possible with the best modern steam engines consuming twice the amount of fuel.

Marine Power

Although reference has been made to the construction of large power plants, both steam and hydraulic, it is of interest to note that with very few exceptions the largest power plants in active operation to-day are to be found not ashore, but afloat, in the holds of the great transatlantic liners. With the exception of the great hydraulic plants at Niagara Falls, on the American and the Canadian sides, there are few stationary plants which equal those on such vessels as the later German and British steamers. Thus the *Lusitania,* already in service, and the sister ship, the *Mauretania,* contain power plants which, at the full speed of 25 knots, will develop about 70,000 horse-power, and this not at the "peak" of a load, but continuously for several days, twenty-four hours a day. This is the latest example, but ocean steamers containing from 20,000 to 40,000 horse-power of steam engines and boilers are now suffi-

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ciently common to attract less attention than a plant of similar capacity in a stationary power house.

In such plants both economy and reliability are essential. The early predictions, when transatlantic steam navigation was first attempted, that it would be commercially unprofitable because of the large proportion of the capacity of the vessel required for coal storage, were based on the coal consumption of the steam engines of that day. Since then the consumption of fuel has been reduced from 6 or 7 pounds per horse-power per hour to 2 pounds or less, and there is little doubt that much of the improvement in the performance of the modern steam engine is due to the efforts to reduce the coal consumption of steamships. Such a reduction was absolutely necessary to permit of the increased powering required to attain the high sea speeds demanded at the present time. It must be remembered that, all other conditions being equal, the power required to drive a ship through the water increases with the *cube* of the speed. This means that to double the speed of a vessel the power must be increased eight-fold, while to multiply the velocity three times would take twenty-seven times the power. Under such conditions the immense importance of fuel economy at sea will be understood, and even with the present high efficiency of marine engines there is little room left for cargo after machinery, coal bunkers and passengers have been provided for.

Gas Engines on Shipboard

In view of what has been said about the necessity for fuel economy on shipboard, it will readily be seen that any wholly satisfactory application of the internal-combustion engine to marine service should be most acceptable. A machine which would cut the coal consumption in two, or double the steaming radius for the same coal supply would enable either higher speeds or more profitable voyages to be undertaken, and as a matter of fact, plans have already been made to adapt the gas producer and the gas engine to marine service.

So far as the fuel economy goes the gas engine has already demonstrated its desirability, but there are other points to be considered. At the present time the speed control of the gas engine lacks the flexibility required in the management of a ship, and in the important requirement of prompt reversal in case of emergency the gas engine is lacking. This last defect is also shared by the steam turbine, and it has only been by the introduction of special reversing turbines that the steam turbine itself has been made available for sea service.

Among the attempts to apply the gas engine to the especial requirements of marine service may be mentioned the interposition of electric

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transmission between the engines and the propellers. In such a plan the gas engine runs continuously in one direction, at a uniform speed, driving an electric generator, exactly as in a stationary power house. The electric current is then used to drive electric motors, one motor being attached to each propeller shaft, these motors being capable of speed control, reversal and prompt management, by the use of the well-known devices of the electric controller and switchboard. Since the controlling apparatus may be placed at any distant point from the engines or motors, such a system has the immense advantage of bringing the actual handling of the vessel directly to the bridge without requiring any intermediate responsibility. Unfortunately the losses involved in the double transformation between engine, dynamo, motor and propeller are such as to subtract very materially from the high thermal efficiency of the gas-power plant, and hence this plan is not an entire solution of the question.

Social Influences of the Manufacture of Power

In the course of the development of the manufacture of power it has become apparent that in this direction some profound modifications of the social order may have their origin. It was seen that in the control of the forces of nature to his personal service there appears one of the most marked differences between man and the lower animals. In like manner as the manufacture of power is extended in scope and in degree it will differentiate between the higher and the lower elements in mankind. Already some of the most laborious operations ever undertaken by man or animals, in the lifting of great weights, in the pumping of water, in the digging of the earth and the like, have almost totally disappeared, to be replaced by the work of power-driven machinery. The whole tendency of the development of power is toward the elevation of the human race, toward the distribution of the necessities and even the luxuries of life, and toward the diminution of poverty and misery.

It is told that when George III. visited the steam-engine works of Boulton and Watt, at Soho, the king was received and greeted by Boulton with the remark: "Your Majesty, we produce here what all monarchs desire to have: Power!"

Boulton realized, in part at least, that the power which the newly developed steam engine was able to produce represented the power which was capable of transforming the social and industrial order of Great Britain, and which we now see is destined to bring about still greater changes in all parts of the world.

Henry Harrison Suplee.

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THE EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

HOW TEACHERS SPEND THE SUMMER AND THE REWARDS THEY RECEIVE

BY OSSIAN H. LANG

"Short Hours"

An argument constantly drawn into requisition to help defeat efforts to place the pay of teachers on a more equitable basis is that the work-day is short, and that teachers have free Saturdays and a long summer vacation. It is well to have in mind that the schools are maintained for the education of the young, and not to keep a half million people busy at teaching. The young folks go to school for certain purposes. After a specified number of hours, representing the maximum of time and strength deemed advisable for them to give to these purposes each day, they return to their homes. The teacher's work-day is thus measured by the needs of the pupils. The frugal taxpayer may now ask himself if the teacher to whom he pays a salary ought not to give to the performance of other necessary work in the community enough of his out-of-school hours to make the work-day as long as that of the street-cleaner who gets about the same pay. Of course, he must consider whether the teacher will be able to give the necessary amount of strength to schoolroom duties if additional tasks are imposed upon him. In other words, the basal question from which to proceed is, What demands does the school make upon the time and the strength of the teacher?

The Scope of Teaching

Teaching includes instructing, governing, and a great many other things. The work differs from that of an expert foreman in that the teacher has to deal wholly with learners of varying degrees of capacity, and is expected to accomplish certain definite minimum results with every one of them. He deals with thirty, forty, fifty, and more apprentices at a time. Among them is always a considerable percentage which sees no relation between present tasks and future happiness, and is accordingly reluctant to do the work at hand, fairly assured that upon the teacher will fall the blame for whatever remains undone. The teacher is also an executive, but he differs from business executives

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in that his sympathy is constantly drawn upon. He must look after the health and comfort of his pupils. He must keep moral influences in control, he must instruct, and he must satisfy his various superiors, of whom there are many.

Exacting Duties

Teaching is a constant giving of vitality. The strain of it is comparable only to that of an actor or a singer before a critical audience. To be sure, there may be actors and singers who perform for eight hours a day, from Monday to Saturday inclusive, but they are not the kind that the public cares to hear. Just so there are teachers who take up evening-school, Sunday-school and vacation-school duties, in addition to their regular work. This is the pace that kills the efficient ones. They exhaust their reserve fund of vitality in order to raise their regular pay to a living basis by the addition of these extra earnings. There are some, of course, upon whom the daily tasks weigh so lightly that they can turn them off without more expenditure of nerve force than is required in any mechanical labor. They are the drudges whose presence testifies to the inadequacy of the remuneration of teachers. If the rewards were what they should be these would not be needed to help fill vacancies. There would be really competent people enough to take their places.

Teaching is exhaustive work. The comparison with the actor is *à propos,* only we have to think of an actor with a repertoire of about two hundred plays, which plays are constantly being readjusted and improved. Thoughtful people and those who have tried their hand at amateur theatricals know full well that the stage appearance is not the sum total of the actor's work, though it is the most trying ordeal of the day. The teacher has his daily preparation to make, he must take stock of each day's results, he must by reflection and visits improve his understanding of his individual pupils, he must rest to replenish his stores of vitality, and must do many things besides to keep himself efficient, not to speak of chores imposed by the less exalted considerations of keeping solid with the powers that control the job. The latter point is by no means a minor one. It places the teacher on a level with the average clergyman, whose labors for the kingdom of God must be circumscribed by thoughts of the good-will of the trustees. He shares with the clergyman, too, the uncertainty of valuation which his critics, official and otherwise, may place upon his work. Not even the simple methods elaborated by Dr. J. M. Rice for estimating results in the measurable portions of the teacher's labors are as widely applied as their reasonable-

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ness might suggest. The opinions of the school principal, the superintendent, the trustees, of the parents, yes, and of the children, form the usual standard of estimate. The only thing for the teacher to do under the circumstances is to be guided by the light of the best professional experience, and to cultivate tact in his dealings with everybody. This adds to the list of out-of-school duties the reading of professional periodicals and books, as well as visits to other schools, conferences with other teachers, participation in educational meetings.

The Vacation

But there is the long summer vacation. That vacation has brought upon the teachers the envy of many. If these but knew the real meaning of it! Summer is the time of educational conventions and of schools where teachers resort, to come in contact with the leaders of their profession, and with the new ideas and new inspirations that are to sustain them through the year ahead. Others travel, and the broadening of view, the better understanding of the world and the people in it and other gains all redound to the benefit of the schools. That is what the teachers believe the vacation is for—to do the things that will advance them. Unfortunately they cannot all devote themselves to this laudable object. The great majority have no money to spend in the summer time, and many must take up other pursuits to bridge over the two months between pay days.

"Vacation" Labors

I made inquiry this year to find how teachers spend the long vacation, and this is what I learned: Comparatively few of the thousands who are paid only while school keeps have any money to invest in recreation and self-improvement. The penniless ones either live with their folks or try to earn their way by labor of various kinds. A very large number teach, that being the thing they can do best. Summer schools, vacation colonies, and similar institutions must have teachers. Then there are those who want to prepare for high school or college-entrance examinations, or who require coaching for other objects, and this gives other thousands something to earn. Those with mercantile instincts may find occupation in shops or go out as canvassers for bluing, stereoscopes, or "Mother, Home, and Heaven."

The men, of whom there are few, occasionally act as agents for schoolbook companies. For this work, however, only the influential ones are suitable, or those who have other special qualifications. Not a few in the poorer sections of the country become farm laborers, or act as street-

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car conductors, motor-men, overseers, teamsters, barbers, clerks, or migratory photographers. In fact, the list includes almost every kind of service for which a demand exists or can be created in summer time.

The women also do not hesitate to do whatever their hands find to do. Many of those who want to have the benefits of the seaside or the mountains find employment in hotels or restaurants. Not a few of the Frank Harvey dining-room waitresses have a good school-teaching record behind them. Among the stewards on river, lake and ocean steamers are to be found teachers. About the only way in which the miserably paid teachers can ever get to Europe, or wherever else people of culture may want to go some time, is by hiring out as traveling-companion, tutor, maid, or feeder on board of a cattleship. An analysis of these peculiar facts cannot be very complimentary to the people who fix the salaries of teachers. The men and women to whom is intrusted the transmission of culture and other of the highest achievements of humanity from one age to another must eke out a precarious livelihood by adding to their official income other earnings from sources more or less remote from the things that tend to increase their professional efficiency!

Why They Teach

The great majority of people who teach do so because they love the work. In spite of the smallness of pay and the thousand and one humiliations and annoyances incident to this particular kind of public service, they would rather teach than do anything else. The missionary spirit, the teaching instinct, the love of children, the desire to help others, the faith that through the education of the young they are helping to make the world brighter and sweeter—these are the real stimuli that supply our schools with good teachers. The "short hours" and "long vacations," like the pictorial posters with which the federal Government advertises the attractions of the army and navy service, have sore disappointment in store for the poor recruits; they are not what they are painted.

And the pay? Teachers, as a rule, do not say much about it. There is not much to be said about it. The rank and file are miserably paid. The main reason for this discreditable state of affairs is that the people are not informed concerning the facts in the case. They do not realize, in other words, what demands are made upon teachers of the present day. Most teachers have not only themselves to take care of, but contribute also to the support of dependent relatives. Under our changed economic conditions men are excluded from wage-earning pursuits at an earlier

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age than formerly. The number of dependent parents has grown to large proportions. The care of them has fallen largely upon the children. To what extent the burden has fallen to the lot of the daughters I am not prepared to state. But I do know that there are few women teachers who are free from family responsibilities which consume a portion of their earnings. Two or three typical examples will make the point clear.

Financial Demands

One of the best salaried women is the principal of an Eastern training school for teachers. She receives something like $2,500 a year. In the fifteen years I have known her there never was a time when she did not carry on some university work for self-improvement and to keep abreast of the times in pedagogical sociology and psychology. She subscribes to the most helpful periodicals and spends a portion of every vacation at a summer school. She dresses well, as becomes her office, and pays the ordinary taxes which social life exacts of cultured women. She has supported her widowed mother almost from the day when she began to teach and has borne the expense of the education of her younger sisters. In her school are many poor pupils who have received substantial aid from her. And this is the type of the noble woman teacher, of whom there are thousands in the common school service.

A young woman of twenty-two became supervisor of music in a Western city at a salary of $900. She had drawn only one monthly check when her father lost his position, and, in spite of every endeavor, could find no permanent employment because of aged appearance and feeble health. The daughter reduced her personal expenses to the lowest possible point and contributed the balance of her money to the support of the family. She felt compelled to look for a better salaried place in the East, near the home of her parents. The $1,100 she was paid shrank considerably under the increased demands the new office made upon her purse. She undertook evening-school and vacation-school work to supply her family with the necessaries of life. The strain proved too much for her young life. She, too, is a type.

A teacher in a city school receives $400 a year. A widowed mother and two small sisters are dependent upon her for support. After school hours she has private pupils. The intelligence, energy, pluck, and resourcefulness of this teacher would bring her $20 a week in a commercial line. But she wants to teach. And so she tries to earn enough by outside work to enable her to stay in the common school service. The city that pays her $400 gives the janitor of the school $1,200. But he has a wife and two children to support.

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Now consider that there are not a few who receive only $300 or less a year, and these, too, have calls for financial aid. Yet the teacher who is worried about the daily bread cannot possibly give the best strength to the work. In no other occupation is the drain upon the vital forces so constant. Irritability has serious effects upon the developing characters of the pupils. An atmosphere of cheerful serenity is the most favorable condition for the education of the young, and that is naturally dependent upon the personality of the teacher. Worry is conducive neither to cheerfulness nor serenity. The communities that keep their teachers poor are depriving their own children of a most valuable part of education. The children pay for the worry.

Who Pays for the Worry?

It costs money to keep in touch with the progress of the world. A person of cultivation has many necessary expenses that others manage to do without. The very office of the teacher makes certain special demands that involve expense which are not required of either the bricklayer or the paper-hanger. Attendance at educational conventions is most desirable for efficiency, and that necessitates further expense. School communities do not seem to have these considerations in mind when fixing the salaries of teachers.

Teachers, as a rule, come from homes of people in moderate circumstances. This is no doubt the reason why they usually have members of their families more or less dependent upon them. The fact is very strikingly brought out by the returns from the various normal schools of the State of Massachusetts, which mention in each case the occupation of the father of the student. We may safely assume that the average represented by the normal school students is higher than that of people who take up teaching without special preparation. Mechanics, farmers, and small dealers furnish an astonishingly large majority over all other occupations. As the more well-to-do among these prefer to keep their daughters at home, and as the girls are practically the only ones entering into our calculations, we can readily see why so many women teachers must help at home. My compilation of the returns shows that only forty out of something like eight hundred and seventy-five students are the daughters of professional men. Those in government or other political offices do not incline markedly toward teaching. Their personal experience probably is not conducive to preference for positions in the public service. One army officer, one custom-house official, thirteen city officials, one postal clerk, one letter-carrier, six

Antecedents of Teachers

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policemen, and two firemen complete the list. The children of literary people and artists, too, seem to fight shy of school teaching. There are in the list only three clergymen, one librarian, one musician, one editor, one superintendent of schools, and three teachers. The last two items furnish most eloquent testimony to the utter inefficacy of the "short hours" and "long vacations" to draw those who know the stern realities of teaching.

The Best Passed on to Posterity

The influence of the schools upon civilization is a very real one. It would be futile to discuss whether upward tendencies are resultant from the effects of school education or whether the objects of the schools represent wholly the demands of the times; that is the ancient problem of the priority of chick or egg. We may at least assume that education is shaped in each generation by the best thought and the hopes of the most intelligent friends of humanity. In other words, the schools seek to perpetuate the highest achievements and to realize the most worthy ambitions of the time. The educative influences of the schools are thus exerted to insure the survival and development of the greatest good believed in by the greatest number. The best of which a generation is capable is not always attained by that generation because of arrested development and other retarding factors, but the achievement of this best becomes a definite object in the bringing up of those who are to carry on the work of the world afterward. The good of a civilization is emphasized in its schools.

Educational Conventions

From this standpoint the significance of educational conventions assumes an aspect of peculiar sociological importance. The predominant thought of each convention worthy of the name educational is apt to suggest the problem uppermost in the minds of the leaders of the people. This problem may be variously defined, and its subdivisions may be more or less preëminent. Just now, for instance, opinion may be divided between the comparative supremacy of the movement for international peace, the bringing about of better relations between capital and labor, the child labor question, and the care of the sub-normally endowed and the economically or otherwise incapacitated. The underlying greater problem is, of course, the more perfect adjustment of the welfare of individuals and of organized forces. The organized force may be the State, economic society, the "trust," a labor union, or a military alliance of nations. The individual may be the single being, the family, the

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community, or some other organic unit. Assuming this problem with its fundamental subdivisions to be uppermost in the reflections of the serious philanthropists, it may interest the reader to note the attitude toward them of representative educational conventions recently held.

The Montreal Meeting

The American Institute of Instruction, which is our oldest educational association, and represents chiefly the teachers of New England, held its seventy-seventh annual convention at Montreal in July, under the leadership of State Commissioner Walter E. Ranger, of Rhode Island. The keynote was peace among the nations. Mrs. Mead spoke on "The New Internationalism," Professor Dutton on "Educational Efforts for International Peace," Mrs. Andrews on "The Teacher's Part in the Peace Movement," Dr. Mowry on "Some New Demands Which the Progress of Mankind Makes upon Education." All these addresses dealt with the same great idea. Child labor conditions were presented by Mr. Lovejoy. The enlarged scope of public education was discussed in a paper on common school extension. Industrial education, the relations of home and school, and the special treatment of juvenile delinquents occupied attention in the department meetings. There were, besides, a few purely sociable speeches, three or four papers descriptive of methods of teaching and administration, and an equal number on plainly obsolete topics. The convention pictured both the alert and the complacent educator of the East with a touch of the neither-awake-nor-asleep pedagogism of the province of Quebec.

The utter indifference with which the public of Montreal permitted the convention of the American Institute to wind off its programme unmolested was quite a contrast to the general educational enthusiasm prevailing in the city of Los Angeles during the session of the National Education Association. Numbers had, of course, much to do with the difference. The something like five hundred teachers who went to Montreal would naturally not attract the attention that the twelve or fifteen thousand stirred up by their presence in Los Angeles. That, however, does not explain everything. The meetings at Montreal were all poorly attended. Not even the teachers of the province betrayed any appreciable interest in them. The public cared not at all, the newspapers took little note of the proceedings. Some of the teachers who had come ostensibly for the convention never went near the assembly hall, and about ninety of the New Englanders proceeded to Quebec before the convention was half through, among them one of the principal officers of the institute. The fault was not with the programme.

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The Los Angeles convention was one of the most enjoyable of my sixteen years of N. E. A. experience. The city took genuine pride in the affair. The meeting-places, the parks and the principal streets of the business section were beautifully decorated and illuminated. Every detail for the general comfort appeared to have been carefully attended to. The uncertainty of the Inter-State Commerce Commission in knowing its own mind, together with an ungenerous attitude on the part of some Eastern railroads, combined to keep the attendance below the maximum mark. Nevertheless the enrolment proved to be one of the largest in the history of the association.

The N. E. A.

The convention made no particular contributions to education. N. E. A. conventions seldom do. But business of exceeding importance was transacted, affecting the future of the association. Unanimity reigned supreme. The act of incorporation passed by Congress and the by-laws proposed at the Asbury Park meeting two years ago were adopted without a dissenting vote. This places the N. E. A. on a secure foundation and gives proper dignity to its purposes and organization. To the eighteen departments already in existence three new ones were added, one of Technical Education, one of Industrial and Rural Education, and one of Educational Committees of Women's Clubs. The formation of the latter department represents, next to the adoption of the charter, the most significant business accomplished at Los Angeles. It gives representation in the N. E. A. and thus secures the coöperation of these most influential national organizations of women; The General Federation of Women's Clubs; The National Congress of Mothers; The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ; The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; The Woman's Christian Temperance Union; The National Council of Jewish Women; The Southern Association of College Women. It is understood that other national organizations interested in education may, upon application, secure representation in the new department. The special object will be the promotion of a better understanding and closer coöperation between home and school. Among the special purposes it has set itself are the extension of educational opportunities, the establishment and enforcement of compulsory education laws, the restriction of child labor, better school buildings, normal schools in every State, minimum salary laws, expert supervision of all schools, the extension of manual training and of the teaching of civics and ethics.

The Board of Directors authorized the appointment of seven com-

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mittees of investigation and allowed $500 to each for expenses: On the Culture Element in Education; on a System of Teaching Morals in the Common Schools; on Causes of the Growing Shortage of Teachers; on Provisions for the Education of Exceptional Children at Public Expense; on Industrial Education in Rural Schools; on Courses of Manual Training in Elementary Schools; and on a National University at the Federal Capital. These appropriations are in themselves significant of the things which the teachers consider of sufficient importance to invest their communal funds in.

Educational Investigations

The "culture element" proposition I can tell nothing about. Others seemed to suffer from similar incomprehension. But we agreed that it was a good thing and worth spending $500 on. When the money is spent the mystery will probably be cleared up. The working out of a system of teaching morals in the common schools looks like a very desirable undertaking, providing the scope for theorization is restricted. The investigations of manual training in elementary schools and of industrial education in rural schools will be fully worth the $1,000, if the result shall be a report setting forth real facts and supplying a sensible analysis of them. What we need now is a knowledge of the best practice: there is theory to burn. The national university scheme will be kept going till something definite is done. The various scientific institutions carried on at the federal Government's expense, with headquarters at Washington, can be made to serve the student who desires to make special investigations, if some wise organization is effected worthy of the name of National University. The appropriation for the study of the provisions made in common schools for exceptional children deserves hearty commendation. Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, who has done splendid pioneer work in the training of defectives, has been given deserved recognition, and his associates on the committee are all in hearty sympathy with the idea. As to the investigation of the causes of the shortage of teachers, that, too, is a timely enterprise. The shortage is certainly a real one in spite of "short hours" and the "long vacation."

Superintendent E. G. Cooley was unanimously chosen president of the association for the ensuing year. His election was received with enthusiasm as an indorsement of his courageous manliness in the establishment of right principles in the administration of the Chicago school system. Originally the understanding had prevailed that the honor ought to go to President Thompson, of Ohio University, and that Super-

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intendent Cooley should be made a trustee, this being in responsibility a more important position than the presidency. With the uninformed public, however, the latter carried the greater glory. The matter was decided by Dr. Thompson's withdrawal of his own name. "To be sure," he said to his friends, "the presidency would be a compliment which I should value highly. But to Mr. Cooley it will mean a well-deserved indorsement of his stand in the great fight he has been waging single handed for the good of the schools the country over. I am for Cooley for president." That settled the presidency.

Elections

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler was reëlected trustee, and Superintendent Pearse, of Milwaukee, and President Brown, of Valparaiso University (Ind.), were the new members added to the board. President Swain, of Swarthmore College, was made president of the National Council. Cleveland was selected as the place for the convention of 1908.

A peculiar controversy over the reform spelling question was precipitated by the action of the Board of Directors to return to the so-called standard spelling in the official publications of the association. The N. E. A. has for several years stood for spelling reform, in spite of the protestations of an influential minority. The action of the Board of Directors was inconsiderate. Afterward the convention declared itself emphatically in favor of simplified spelling. As the question of printing the official documents of the N. E. A. is a purely administrative one, the contention that only the Board of Directors had power to act is no doubt justifiable. At the same time the emphatic declaration of the convention will act as a restraining influence. Meanwhile the executive committee will probably rule that the spelling used by the association at the present time shall continue through the year, especially as part of the volume of proceedings was already printed when the Directors decided to return to the ways of the fathers.

Simple Spelling

An attempt to consolidate the Department of Art Education with that of Manual Training failed of realization. The two sections must of necessity aim at different results, though they may share in many objects. The one strives to meet some very definite industrial demands, while the other must keep its endeavors pointed to idealistic ends. Industry may gain much from its association with art. On the other hand, art may lose much by identifying its objects with those of industry.

Art and Industry

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There is no doubt that there should be consolidation of some departments and elimination of others, but art and "manual training," so-called, go different ways.

"Principles and Aims"

The "Declaration of Principles" has come to be regarded in recent years as a sort of culmination of the points brought out in the principal educational discussions. The committee on resolutions presented a lengthy paper on Education in the United States and Elsewhere: What is, what ain't, and what awter be. The committee suffered from too many opinions on too many things. To put out these poorly expressed notions as "principles and aims" was an obvious misuse of terms.

Principle 1 urges Congress to give increased financial support to the United States Bureau of Education.

Principle 2 indorses the growing insistence upon the special preparation of teachers, and regrets that salaries are so low. The patient reader of this two-hundred-words-long principle will be rewarded by running across the sentence: "We wish heartily to indorse the action of those legislatures that have fixed a minimum salary at a living wage."

Principle 3 approves the spread of township or rural high schools.

Principle 4 states that "the time is rapidly approaching when both industrial and commercial education should be introduced into all schools and made to harmonize with the occupations of the community." The paragraph concludes that "wherever conditions justify their establishment, trade schools should be maintained at public expense."

Principle 5 reveals utter ignorance as to the democratic ideas underlying the movement for common school extension. Free evening schools and lectures are approved "for adults and for children who have been obliged to leave the day school prematurely," and the use of school grounds and buildings is commended "for the relief of the poor of the crowded districts in the summer." What a myopic view of a great idea!

Principle 6 commends the harmonization of child labor and truancy laws, so "that the education of the child, not its labor, be made the desideratum."

Principle 7 "specially directs" the federal Government to provide for the education of American children on naval reservations.

Principle 8 emphasizes a point that may well be presented each year, providing the form of statement is striking enough to arrest the attention of the newspaper-reading public:

> The association regrets the revival in some quarters of the idea that the

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common school is a place for teaching nothing but reading, spelling, writing, and ciphering; and takes this occasion to declare that the ultimate object of popular education is to teach children how to live righteously, healthfully, and happily, and that to accomplish this object it is essential that every school inculcate the love of truth, justice, purity, and beauty through the study also of biography, history, ethics, natural history, music, drawing, and manual arts.

Principle 9 is an ex-cathedra setting of *"O tempora, O mores!"*

The National Education Association wishes to record its approval of the increasing appreciation among educators of the fact that the building of character is the real aim of the schools and the ultimate reason for the expenditure of millions for their maintenance. There are in the minds of the children and youth of to-day a tendency toward a disregard for constituted authority, a lack of respect for age and superior wisdom, a weak appreciation of the demands of duty, a disposition to follow pleasure and interest rather than obligation and order. This condition demands the earliest thought and action of our leaders of opinion and places important obligations upon school authorities.

Principle 10 declares that "inter-school games should be played for sportsmanship and not merely for victory."

Principle 11 approves "the tendency of cities and towns to replace large school committees or boards, which have exercised through sub-committees executive functions, by small boards, which determine general policies, but intrust all executive functions to salaried experts."

Principle 12: "Local taxation, supplemented by State taxation, presents the best means for the support of the public schools, and for securing that deep interest in them which is necessary to their greatest efficiency. State aid should be granted only as supplementary to local taxation, and not as a substitute for it."

Principle 13 reiterates the need of "close, intelligent, judicious supervision for all grades."

Principle 14 created some trouble because of the part beginning at "and directs that":

The National Education Association approves the efforts of the Simplified Spelling Board and other bodies to promote the simplification of English spelling by the judicious omission of useless silent letters and the substitution of more regular and intelligible spelling in place of forms that are grossly irregular or anomalous, such amendments to be made according to the existing rules and analogies of English spelling, with a due regard to the standards accepted by scholars; and the association hereby approves the simpler forms contained in the list of three hundred words now spelled in two or more ways, published by the Simplified Spelling Board, and containing the twelve simplified forms now used by this association, and directs that these simpler forms be used in the publications of the association in accordance with the rule now in force, that if the writer of any paper published by this association expressly so desires, his paper shall be printed in the old spelling.

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Principle 15 is a timely statement of a real need:

> Without seeking to determine the merits of coeducation versus separation of the sexes in higher institutions, the association recognizes that at present the demand for separate higher instruction for women is greater than existing colleges for women can supply. Moreover, the great colleges for women are almost all grouped in one section of the country. We urge upon the attention of friends of higher education for women the needs of the Western and Southern States for this kind of educational institutions.

Principle 16 urges the abolition of secret societies, fraternities, and sororities "in all secondary and elementary schools."

Principle 17 approves "a merit system of promoting teachers and filling vacancies."

Principle 18 states a serious fact very mildly:

> The association regrets the purely theoretical work which still characterizes much of our so-called training of teachers, especially in colleges and universities, and urges the establishment everywhere of training and practice facilities for the better preparation of teachers.

Principle 19, in so many words—quite many—indorses the ideas represented by the Hague Conference and the Peace Associations.

Principle 20 is of the nature of a challenge to the agitators for trades unions of teachers:

> The association pledges itself anew to that time-honored conception of the teacher's office which makes it one of unselfish service in a great human cause—education—and it calls upon teachers everywhere to remember that the conception must remain fundamental in the establishment and conduct of their professional associations.

This last statement is heartily subscribed to by all teachers who believe in the humanitarian value of their work, and they are, after all, the great majority. They labor for the betterment of mankind. The thought that sustains them amidst their many trials and heart-burnings is that the future of the world is represented by the children that are now under their tuition. It would be a sad day for American schools if this faith were permitted to decline. It is this faith which has drawn some of the world's best minds and hearts into the service of education. It is this which makes the personality of the teacher the power that it is. It is this which makes religious the atmosphere of the unsectarian common school. If the people of our country would recognize some of the reasonableness of this faith and give expression to it in a practical manner, there would be no need of the present fears regarding the growing scarcity of teachers. *Ossian H. Lang.*

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THE DRAMA

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THEATRE AUDIENCES

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON

I

THE drama is the only art, excepting oratory and certain forms of music, that is designed to appeal to a crowd instead of to an individual.

The Drama and the Crowd

The lyric poet writes for himself, and for such selected persons here and there throughout the world as may be wisely sympathetic enough to understand his musings. The essayist and the novelist write for a reader sitting alone in his library: whether ten such readers or a hundred thousand ultimately read a book, the writer speaks to each of them apart from all the others. It is the same with painting and with sculpture. Though a picture or a statue may be seen by a limitless succession of observers, its appeal is made always to the individual mind. But it is different with a play. A drama is, in essence, a story devised to be presented by actors on a stage before an audience. It is, therefore, designed to appeal at once to a multitude of people. We have to be alone in order to appreciate the *Venus of Melos* or the *Sistine Madonna* or the *Ode to a Nightingale* or the *Egoist* or the *Religio Medici;* but who could sit alone in a wide theatre and see *Cyrano de Bergerac* performed? The sympathetic presence of a multitude of people would be as necessary to our appreciation of the play as solitude in all the other cases. And because the drama must be written for a crowd, it must be fashioned differently from the other, and less popular, forms of art.

No writer is really a dramatist unless he recognizes this distinction of appeal; and if an author is not accustomed to writing for the crowd, he can hardly hope to make a worthy play. Tennyson, the perfect poet; Browning, the master of the human mind; Stevenson, the teller of delightful tales:—each of them failed when he tried to make a drama, because the conditions of his proper art had schooled him long in writing for the individual instead of for the crowd. A literary artist who writes for the individual may produce a great work of literature that is cast in the dramatic form; but the work will not be, in the practical sense, a play. *Samson Agonistes, Faust, Pippa Passes, Peer Gynt,* and the dream-

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dramas of Maurice Maeterlinck, are something else than plays. They are not devised to be presented by actors on a stage before an audience. As a work of literature, *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* is immeasurably greater than *The Two Orphans;* but as a play, it is immeasurably less. For even though, in this particular piece, Browning did try to write for the theatre (at the suggestion of Macready), he employed in making it the same intricately intelligent method of character-analysis that made many of his poems the most solitude-compelling of modern literary works. Properly to appreciate his piece, you must be alone, just as you must be alone to read *A Woman's Last Word.* It is not written for a crowd: *The Two Orphans,* with less wisdom, is. The second is a play.

The mightiest masters of the drama—Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Molière—have recognized the popular character of its appeal and written frankly for the multitude. The crowd, therefore, has exercised a potent influence upon the dramatist in every era of the theatre. One person the lyric poet has to please—himself; to a single person only, or a limitless succession of single persons, does the novelist address himself, and he may choose the sort of person he will write for; but the dramatist must please the many, and is therefore at the mercy of the mob. His themes, his thoughts, his emotions, are circumscribed by the limits of popular appreciation. He writes less freely than any other author; for he cannot pick his auditors. Mr. Henry James may, if he choose, write novels for the super-civilized; but a crowd is never super-civilized, and therefore characters like those of Mr. James could never be successfully presented in the theatre. *Treasure Island* is a book for boys, both old and young; but a theatre crowd is composed largely of women, and the theme of such a story could scarcely be successful on the stage.

In order, therefore, to understand the limitations of the drama as an art, and clearly to define its scope, it is necessary to inquire into the psychology of theatre audiences. This psychology presents two phases to the student. First, a theatre audience exhibits certain psychological traits that are common to all crowds, of whatever kind—a political convention, the spectators at a ball-game, or a church congregation, for example. Second, it exhibits certain other traits which distinguish it from other kinds of crowds. These, in turn, will be considered in the present essay.

II

By the word *crowd,* as it is used in the present essay, is meant a multitude of people whose ideas and feelings have taken a set in a certain single direction, and who, because of this, have lost their individual

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self-consciousness in the general self-consciousness of the multitude. Any gathering of people for a specific purpose — whether of action or of worship or of amusement — becomes, because of this purpose, a *crowd,* in the scientific sense. Now, a crowd has a mind of its own, apart from that of any of its individual members. The psychology of the crowd was little understood until late in the nineteenth century, when a great deal of attention was turned to it by a group of French philosophers. The subject has been most fully studied by M. Gustave Le Bon, who devoted some two hundred pages to his *Psychologie des Foules.* According to M. Le Bon, a man, by the mere fact that he forms a factor of a crowd, loses consciousness of those mental qualities in which he differs from his fellows, and becomes more keenly conscious than before of those other mental qualities in which he is at one with them. The mental qualities in which men differ from one another are the acquired qualities of intellect and character; but the qualities in which they are at one are the innate basic passions of the race. A crowd, therefore, is less intellectual and more emotional than the individuals that compose it. It is less reasonable, less judicious, less disinterested, more credulous, more primitive, more partisan; and hence, as M. Le Bon cleverly puts it, a man, by the mere fact that he forms a part of an organized crowd, descends several rungs on the ladder of civilization. Even the most cultured and intellectual of men, when he forms an atom of a crowd, loses consciousness of his acquired mental qualities and harks back to his primal nakedness of mind.

The Crowd Defined

The dramatist, therefore, because he writes for a crowd, writes for an uncivilized and uncultivated mind, a mind richly human, vehement in approbation, violent in disapproval, easily credulous, eagerly enthusiastic, boyishly heroic, and carelessly unthinking. Now, it has been found in practice that the only thing that will keenly interest a crowd is a struggle of some sort or other. Speaking empirically, the late Ferdinand Brunetière, in 1893, stated that the drama has dealt always with a struggle between human wills; and his statement, formulated in the catch-phrase, "No struggle, no drama," has since become a commonplace of dramatic criticism. But, so far as I know, no one has yet realized the reason for this, which is, simply, that characters are interesting to a crowd only in those crises of emotion that bring them to the grapple. A single individual, like the reader of an essay or a novel, may be interested intellectually in those gentle influences beneath whose fostering a

The Necessary Struggle

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character unfolds itself as mildly as a blowing rose; but to that savage child, the crowd, a character does not appeal except in moments of contention. There never yet has been a time when the theatre could compete successfully with the amphitheatre. Plautus and Terence complained that the Roman public preferred a gladiatorial combat to their plays; a bear-baiting or a cock-fight used to empty Shakespeare's theatre on the Bankside; and there is not a matinée in town to-day that can hold its own against a foot-ball game. Forty thousand people gather annually from all quarters of the East to see Yale and Harvard meet upon the field, while such a crowd could not be aggregated from New York alone to see the greatest play the world has yet produced. For the crowd demands a fight; and where the actual exists, it will not be contented with the semblance.

The Crowd's Partisanship

Hence the drama, to interest at all, must cater to this longing for contention, which is one of the primordial instincts of the crowd. It must present its characters in some struggle of the wills, whether it be flippant, as in the case of Benedick and Beatrice, or lovely, as in that of Viola and Orsino, or terrible, with Macbeth, or piteous, with Lear. Now the crowd is more violently partisan than the individual; and therefore, in following this struggle of the drama, it insists always on taking sides. There is no fun in seeing a foot-ball game unless you care about who wins; and there is very little fun in seeing a play unless the dramatist allows you to throw your sympathies on one side or the other of the struggle. Hence, although in actual life both parties to a conflict are often partly right and partly wrong, and it is hard to choose between them, the dramatist must simplify the struggle in his plays by throwing the balance of right strongly on one side. Hence, from the ethical standpoint, the simplicity of theatre characters. Desdemona is all innocence, Iago all deviltry. Hence also the conventional heroes and villains of melodrama—these to be hissed and those to be applauded. Since the crowd is lacking in the judicial faculty and cannot look upon a play from a detached and disinterested point of view, it is either all for or all against a character; and in either case its judgment is frequently in defiance of the rules of reason. It will hear no word against Camille, though an individual would judge her to be wrong; and has no sympathy with Père Duval. It idolizes Raffles, who is a liar and a thief; it shuts its ears to Marion Allardyce, the defender of virtue in *Letty*. It wants its sympathetic characters, to love; its antipathetic characters, to hate; and it hates and loves them as unreasonably as a savage or a child. The trouble with *Hedda Gabler* as a play is that it con-

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tains not a single personage that the audience can love. The crowd demands those so-called "sympathetic" parts that every actor, for this reason, longs to represent. And since the crowd is violently partisan, it wants its favored characters to win. Hence the convention of the "happy ending," insisted on by managers who feel the pulse of the public. One of the wisest of actor-managers, Molière, usually contrived to let a long-lost uncle turn up in the last act of a play, to endow the hero and the heroine and say, "Bless you, my children." Even the wicked Oliver, in *As You Like It,* must turn over a new leaf and marry a pretty girl. The blind Louise, in *The Two Orphans,* will get her sight back, never fear. In the last moments of most successful plays the bad man either dies miserably or reforms, and the good man either dies nobly or embraces the girl. The bad man in *Letty* reforms; but most of us are sorry that he didn't die before the mawkish epilogue. Since Sherlock Holmes is the sort of hero that even his author seems unable to kill, he can't very well die in the last act, even nobly: so he embraces the girl instead. An individual observer would tell you that Holmes should have had more sense than to marry such a non-existent entity as Alice Faulkner; but the crowd is pleased.

Its Credulity

Next to this prime instinct of partisanship in watching a contention, one of the most important traits in the psychology of crowds is their extreme credulity. A crowd will believe anything that it sees and almost anything that it is told. An audience composed entirely of individuals who have no belief in ghosts will yet accept the Ghost in *Hamlet* as a fact. Bless you, they have *seen* him! The crowd accepts the disguise of Rosalind, and never wonders why Orlando does not recognize his love. To this extreme credulity of the crowd is due the long line of plays that are founded on mistaken identity—farces like *The Comedy of Errors* and melodramas like *The Lyons Mail,* for example. The crowd, too, will accept without demur any condition precedent to the story of a play, however impossible it might seem to the mind of the individual. Œdipus King has been married to his mother many years before the play begins; but the Greek crowd forbore to ask why, in so long a period, the enormity had never been discovered. The central situation of *She Stoops to Conquer* seems absurdly impossible to the individual mind, but is eagerly accepted by the crowd. Individual critics find fault with Thomas Heywood's lovely old play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness,* on the ground that though Frankford's noble forgiveness of his erring wife is beautiful to contemplate, Mrs. Frankford's infidelity is not sufficiently

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motivated, and the whole story, therefore, is untrue. But Heywood, writing for the crowd, said frankly, "If you will grant that Mrs. Frankford was unfaithful, I can tell you a lovely story about her husband, who was a gentleman worth knowing: otherwise there can't be any story"; and the Elizabethan crowd, longing for the story, was eager to oblige the dramatist with the necessary credulity.

There is this to be said about the credulity of an audience, however, that it will believe what it sees much more readily than what it hears. It would not believe in the ghost of Hamlet's father if the ghost were merely spoken of and did not walk upon the stage. If a dramatist would convince his audience of the generosity or the treachery of one character or another, he should not waste words either praising or blaming the character, but should present him to the eye in the performance of a generous or treacherous action. When Henry Irving, in his youth, played Joseph Surface, he quite upset the play by making the audience like him more than Charles; and all that Sheridan had written could not carry the day against the engaging hypocrisy of the villain. The audience *hears* wise words from Polonius when he gives his parting admonition to his son; but the same audience *sees* him made a fool of by Prince Hamlet, and will not think him wise.

The fact that a crowd's eyes are keenlier receptive than its ears is the psychologic basis for the maxim that in the theatre action speaks louder than words. It also gives the reason why plays of which the audience does not understand a single word are frequently successful. Mme. Sarah Bernhardt's thrilling performance of *La Tosca* has always aroused enthusiasm in London and New York, where the crowd, as a crowd, could not understand the language of the play.

Its Emotional Contagion

Another primal characteristic of the mind of the crowd is its susceptibility to emotional contagion. A cultivated individual reading *The School for Scandal* at home alone will be intelligently appreciative of its delicious humor; but it is difficult to imagine him laughing over it aloud. Yet the same individual, when lost in a theatre crowd, will laugh heartily over this very play, largely because other people near him are laughing too. Laughter, tears, enthusiasm, all the basic human emotions, thrill and tremble through an audience, because each member of the crowd feels that he is surrounded by other people who are experiencing the same emotion as his own. In the sad part of a play it is hard to keep from weeping if the woman next to you is wiping her eyes; and still harder is it to keep from laughing, even at a

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sorry jest, if the man on the other side is roaring in vociferous cachinnation. Successful dramatists play upon the susceptibility of a crowd by serving up raw morsels of crude humor and pathos for the unthinking to wheeze and blubber over, knowing that these members of the audience will excite their more phlegmatic neighbors by contagion. The practical dictum that every laugh in the first act is worth money in the box-office is founded on this psychologic truth. Even puns as bad as Mr. Zangwill's are of value early in a play to set on some quantity of barren spectators and get the house accustomed to a titter. Scenes like the football episodes in *The College Widow* and *Strongheart,* or the battle in *The Round Up,* are always sure to raise the roof; for it is sufficient to set everybody on the stage a-cheering in order to make the audience cheer too by sheer contagion. Another and more classical example was the speechless triumph of Henry V.'s return victorious, in Richard Mansfield's sumptuous production of the play. Here the audience felt that he was every inch a king; for it had caught the fervor of the crowd upon the stage.

This same emotional contagion is, of course, the psychologic basis for the French system of the *claque,* or band of hired applauders seated in the centre of the house. The leader of the *claque* knows his cues as if he were an actor in the piece, and at the psychologic moment the *claqueurs* burst forth with their clatter and start the house applauding. Applause begets applause in the theatre, as laughter begets laughter and tears beget tears.

Its Sensuousness

But not only is the crowd more emotional than the individual; it is also more sensuous. It has the lust of the eye and of the ear—the savage's love of gaudy color, the child's love of soothing sound. It is fond of flaring flags and blaring trumpets. Hence the rich-costumed processions of the Elizabethan stage, many years before the use of scenery; and hence, in our own day, the success of pieces like *The Darling of the Gods* and *The Rose of the Rancho.* Color, light, and music, artistically blended, will hold the crowd better than the most absorbing story. This is the reason for the vogue of musical comedy, with its pretty girls, and gaudy shifts of scenery and lights, and tricksy, tripping melodies and dances.

Both in its sentiments and in its opinions, the crowd is hugely commonplace. It is incapable of original thought and of any but inherited emotion. It has no speculation in its eyes. What it feels was felt be-

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fore the flood; and what it thinks, its fathers thought before it. The most effective moments in the theatre are those that appeal to commonplace emotions—love of woman, love of home, love of country, love of right, anger, jealousy, revenge, ambition, lust, and treachery. So great for centuries has been the inherited influence of the Christian religion that any play whose motive is self-sacrifice is almost certain to succeed. Even where the self-sacrifice is unwise and ignoble, as in the first act of *Frou-frou,* the crowd will give it vehement approval. Countless plays have been made upon the man who unselfishly assumes responsibility for another's guilt. The great tragedies have familiar themes—ambition in *Macbeth,* jealousy in *Othello,* filial ingratitude in *Lear*; there is nothing in these motives that the most unthinking audience could fail to understand. Children on the stage never fail to win the house; for every normal woman in the crowd is, or hopes to be, a mother. No crowd can resist the fervor of a patriot who goes down scornful before many spears. Show the audience a flag to die for, or a stalking ghost to be avenged, or a shred of honor to maintain against agonizing odds, and it will thrill with an enthusiasm as ancient as the human race. Few are the plays that can succeed without the moving force of love, the most commonplace of all emotions. These themes do not require that the audience shall think.

Its Commonplaceness

But for the speculative, the original, the new, the crowd evinces little favor. If a dramatist holds ideas of religion, or of politics, or of social law, that are in advance of his time, he must keep them to himself or else his plays will fail. Nimble wits, like Mr. Shaw, who scorn tradition, can attain a popular success only through the crowd's inherent love of fads; they cannot long succeed when they run counter to inherited ideas. The great successful dramatists, like Molière and Shakespeare, have always thought with the crowd on all essential questions. Their views of religion, of morality, of politics, of law, have been the views of the populace, nothing more. They never raise questions that cannot quickly be answered by the crowd, through the instinct of inherited experience. No mind was ever more commonplace than that of Shakespeare. He had no new ideas. He was never radical, and seldom even progressive. He was a careful money-making business man, fond of food and drink and out-of-doors and laughter, a patriot, a lover, and a gentleman. Greatly did he know things about people; greatly, also, could he write. But he accepted the religion, the politics, and the social ethics of his time, without ever bothering to wonder if these things might be improved.

The great speculative spirits of the world, those who overturn tradi-

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tion and discover new ideas, have had minds far different from this. They have not written plays. It is to these men, the philosopher, the essayist, the novelist, the lyric poet, that each of us turns for what is new in thought. But from the dramatist the crowd desires only the old, old thought. It has no patience for consideration; it will listen only to what it knows already. If, therefore, a great man has a new doctrine to expound, let him set it forth in a book of essays; or, if he needs must sugar-coat it with a story, let him expound it in a novel, whose appeal will be to the individual mind. Not until a doctrine is old enough to have been long-accepted is it ripe for exploitation in the theatre.

Its Conservatism

The truth of this point seems to me indisputable. I know that the best European playwrights of the present day are striving to use the drama as a vehicle for the expression of advanced ideas, especially in regard to social ethics; but in doing this, I think, they are mistaking the scope of the theatre. They are striving to say in the drama what might be said better in the essay or the novel. As the exposition of a theory, Mr. Shaw's *Man and Superman* is not nearly so effective as the writings of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, from whom the playwright borrowed his ideas. The greatest works of Ibsen can be appreciated only by the cultured individual and not by the uncultured crowd. That is why the breadth of his appeal will never equal that of Shakespeare, in spite of his unfathomable intellect and his perfect mastery of the technique of his art. Only his more commonplace plays—*A Doll's House,* for example—have attained a wide success. And a wide success is a thing to be desired for other than material reasons. Surely it is a good thing for the public that *Hamlet* never fails.

The conservatism of the greatest dramatists asserts itself not only in their thoughts but even in the mere form of their plays. It is the lesser men who invent new tricks of technique and startle the public with innovations. Molière merely perfected the type of Italian comedy that his public long had known. Shakespeare quietly adopted the forms that lesser men had made the crowd familiar with. He imitated Lyly in *Love's Labour's Lost,* Greene in *As You Like It,* Marlowe in *Richard III.,* Kyd in *Hamlet,* and Fletcher in *The Tempest.* He did the old thing better than the other men had done it, that is all.

Yet this is greatly to Shakespeare's credit. He was wise enough to feel that what the crowd wanted, both in matter and in form, was what was needed in the greatest drama. In saying that Shakespeare's mind was commonplace, I tendered him the highest praise. In his common-

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placeness lies his sanity. He is so greatly *usual* that he can understand all men and sympathize with them. He is above novelty. His wisdom is greater than the wisdom of the few; he is the heir of all the ages, and draws his wisdom from the general mind of man. And it is largely because of this that he represents ever the ideal of the dramatist. He who would write for the theatre must not despise the crowd.

III

All of the fore-mentioned characteristics of theatre audiences, their instinct for contention and for partisanship, their credulity, their sensuousness, their susceptibility to emotional contagion, their incapacity for original thought, their conservatism, and their love of the commonplace, appear in every sort of crowd, as M. Le Bon has proved with ample illustration. It remains for us to notice certain other traits in which theatre audiences differ from other kinds of crowds.

The Theatre Audience Heterogeneous

In the first place, a theatre audience is composed of individuals more heterogeneous than those that make up a political, or social, or sporting, or religious convocation. The crowd at a foot-ball game, at a church, at a social or political convention, is by its very purpose selective of its elements: it is made up entirely of college-folk, or Presbyterians, or Prohibitionists, or Republicans, as the case may be. But a theatre audience is composed of all sorts and conditions of men. The same theatre in New York contains the rich and the poor, the literate and the illiterate, those who are dressed and those who are merely clothed, those who have dined at Sherry's and those who have eaten at Childs', the old and the young, the native and the naturalized. The same play, therefore, must appeal to all of these. It follows that the dramatist must be broader in his appeal than any other artist. He cannot confine his message to any single caste of society. In the same single work of art he must incorporate elements that will interest all classes of the human race.

Those promising dramatic movements that have confined their appeal to a certain single stratum of society have failed ever, because of this, to achieve the highest excellence. The trouble with Roman comedy is that it was written for an audience composed chiefly of freedmen and slaves. The patrician caste of Rome walked wide of the theatres. Only the dregs of society gathered to applaud the comedies of Plautus and Terence. Hence the over-simplicity of their prologues, and their tedious

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repetition of the obvious. Hence, also, their vulgarity, their horse-play, their obscenity. Here was fine dramatic genius led astray, because the time was out of joint. Similarly, the trouble with French tragedy, in the classicist period of Corneille and Racine, is that it was written only for the finest caste of society—the patrician coterie of a patrician cardinal. Hence its over-niceness, and its appeal to the ear rather than to the eye. Terence aimed too low and Racine aimed too high. Each of them, therefore, shot wide of the mark; while Molière, who wrote at once for patrician and plebeian, scored a hit.

The Dramatist's Breadth of Appeal

The really great dramatic movements of the world—that of Spain in the age of Calderon and Lope, that of England in the spacious times of great Elizabeth, that of France from 1830 to the present hour—have broadened their appeal to every class. The queen and the orange-girl joyed together in the healthiness of Rosalind; the king and the gamin laughed together at the rogueries of Scapin. The breadth of Shakespeare's appeal remains the greatest fact in the history of the drama. Tell a filthy-faced urchin of the gutter that you know about a play that shows a ghost that stalks and talks at midnight underneath a castle-tower, and a man that makes believe he is out of his head so that he can get the better of a wicked king, and a girl that goes mad and drowns herself, and a play within the play, and a funeral in a churchyard, and a duel with poisoned swords, and a great scene at the end in which nearly every one gets killed: tell him this, and watch his eyes grow wide! I have been to a thirty-cent performance of *Othello* in a Middle-Western town, and have felt the audience thrill with the headlong hurry of the action. Yet these are the plays that cloistered students study for their wisdom and their style!

And let us not forget in this connection that a similar breadth of appeal is neither necessary nor greatly to be desired in those forms of literature that, unlike the drama, are not written for the crowd. The greatest non-dramatic poet and the greatest novelist in English are appreciated only by the few; but this is not in the least to the discredit of Milton and of Mr. Meredith. One indication of the greatness of Mr. Kipling's story, *They,* is that very few have learned to read it.

Victor Hugo, in his preface to *Ruy Blas,* has discussed this entire principle from a slightly different point of view. He divides the theatre audience into three classes—the thinkers, who demand characterization; the women, who demand passion; and the mob, who demand action—and insists that every great play must appeal to all three classes at once. Cer-

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tainly *Ruy Blas* itself fulfils this desideratum, and is great in the breadth of its appeal. Yet although all three of the necessary elements appear in the play, it has more action than passion and more passion than characterization. And this fact leads us to the statement, omitted by Victor Hugo from his preface, that the mob is more important than the women and the women more important than the thinkers, in the average theatre audience. Indeed, a deeper consideration of the subject almost leads us to discard the thinkers as a psychologic force and to obliterate the distinction between the women and the mob. It is to an unthinking and over-feminine mob that the dramatist must first of all appeal; and this leads us to believe that action with passion for its motive is the prime essential for a play.

A Mob of Women

For, nowadays at least, it is most essential that the drama should appeal to a mob of women. Practically speaking, our matinée audiences are composed entirely of women, and our evening audiences are composed chiefly of women and the men that they have brought with them. Very few men go to the theatre unattached; and these few are not important enough, from the theoretic standpoint, to alter the psychologic aspect of the audience. And it is this that constitutes one of the most important differences between a modern theatre audience and other kinds of crowds.

The influence of this fact upon the dramatist is very potent. First of all, as I have said, it forces him to deal chiefly in action with passion for its motive. And this necessity accounts for the preponderance of female characters over male in the large majority of the greatest modern plays. Notice Nora Helmer, Mrs. Alving, Hedda Gabler, Hilda Wangel; notice Magda and Camille; notice Mrs. Tanqueray, Mrs. Ebbsmith, Iris, and Letty—to cite only a few examples. Furthermore, since women are by nature inattentive, the femininity of the modern theatre audience forces the dramatist to employ the elementary technical tricks of repetition and parallelism, in order to keep his play clear though much of it be unattended to. Eugène Scribe, who knew the theatre, used to say that every important statement in the exposition of a play must be made at least three times. Now this, of course, is seldom necessary in a novel, where things may be said once for all.

The prevailing inattentiveness of a theatre audience at the present day is due also to the fact that it is peculiarly conscious of itself, apart from the play that it has come to see. Many people "go to the theatre."

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as the phrase is, without caring much whether they see one play or another; what they want chiefly is to immerse themselves in a theatre audience. This is especially true, in New York, of the large percentage of people from out of town who "go to the theatre" merely as one phase of their metropolitan experience. It is true, also, of the many women in the boxes and the orchestra who go less to see than to be seen. Now it is one of the great difficulties of the dramatist that he must capture and enchain the attention of an audience thus composed. A man doesn't pick up a novel unless he cares to read it; but many people go to the theatre chiefly for the sense of being there. Certainly, therefore, the problem of the dramatist is, in this respect, more difficult than that of the novelist, for he must make his audience lose consciousness of itself in the consciousness of his play.

The Audience Inattentive

One of the most essential differences between a theatre audience and other kinds of crowds lies in the purpose for which it is convened. This purpose is always that of recreation. A theatre audience is therefore less serious than a church congregation or a political or social convention. It does not come to be edified or educated; it has no desire to be taught: what it wants is to have its emotions played upon. It seeks amusement—in the widest sense of the word — amusement through laughter, sympathy, terror, and tears. And it is amusement of this sort that the great dramatists have ever given it.

The trouble with most of the dreamers who league themselves for the uplifting of the stage is that they take the theatre too seriously. They base their efforts on the proposition that a theatre audience ought to want to be edified. As a matter of fact, no audience ever does. Molière and Shakespeare, who knew the limits of their art, never said a word about uplifting the stage. They wrote plays to please the crowd; and if, through their inherent greatness, they became teachers as well as mountebanks, they did so without any tall talk about the solemnity of their mission. Their audiences learned largely, but they did so unawares—God being with them when they knew it not. The demand for an endowed theatre in America comes chiefly from those who believe that a great play cannot earn its own living. Yet *Hamlet* has made more money than any other play in English; *The School for Scandal* never fails to draw; and in our own day we have seen *Cyrano de Bergerac* coining money all around the world. There weren't any endowed theatres in Elizabethan London. Give the crowd the sort of plays it wants, and

Recreation vs. Edification

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you will not have to seek beneficence to keep your theatre floating. But, on the other hand, no National Art Theatre will ever lure the crowd to listen to the sort of plays it doesn't want. When a Progressive Stage Society is started, it usually damns itself at the beginning by giving a special performance of *The Master Builder*. How can it hope to uplift the crowd with a play that the crowd cannot with any effort understand? There is a wise maxim appended to one of Mr. George Ade's *Fables in Slang:* "In uplifting, get underneath." If the theatre in America is decadent, what it needs is not endowment: it needs great and popular plays. Why should we waste our money and our energy trying to make the crowd come to see *The Master Builder,* or *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon,* or *The Hour Glass,* or *Pélléas and Mélisande?* It is willing enough to come without urging to see *Othello* and *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray.* Give us one great dramatist who understands the crowd, and we shall not have to form societies to propagate his art. Let us cease our prattle of the theatre for the few. Any play that is really great as drama will interest the crowd.

IV

First-night Critics

One point remains to be considered. In any theatre audience there are certain individuals who do not belong to the crowd. They are in it, but not of it; for they fail to lose their individual self-consciousness in the general self-consciousness of the multitude. Such are the professional critics, and other confirmed frequenters of the theatre. It is not for them primarily that plays are written; and any one who has grown individualized through the theatre-going habit cannot help looking back regretfully upon those fresher days when he belonged, unthinking, to the crowd. A first-night audience is anomalous, in that it is composed largely of individuals opposed to self-surrender; and for this reason, a first-night judgment of the merits of a play is rarely final. The dramatist has written for a crowd, and he is judged by individuals. Most dramatic critics will tell you that they long to lose themselves in the crowd, and regret the aloofness from the play that comes of their profession. It is because of this aloofness of the critic that most dramatic criticism fails.

Throughout the present essay, I have insisted on the point that the great dramatists have always written primarily for the many. Yet now I must add that when once they have fulfilled this prime necessity, they may also write secondarily for the few. And most of them have done so.

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In so far as he was a dramatist, Shakespeare wrote for the crowd; in so far as he was a lyric poet, he wrote for himself; and in so far as he was a sage and a stylist, he wrote for the individual.

The Appeal to the Few

In making sure of his appeal to the many, he earned the right to appeal to the few. At the thirty-cent performance of *Othello* that I spoke of, I was probably the only individual in the crowd. Shakespeare made a play that could appeal to the rabble of that Middle-Western town; but he wrote it in a verse that none of them could hear:

> "Not poppy, nor mandragora,
> Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
> Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
> Which thou ow'dst yesterday."

And no one cared but I!

The greatest dramatist of all, in writing for the crowd, did not neglect the individual.

Clayton Hamilton.

AFTER IBSEN?

BY JAMES HUNEKER

CRITICAL estimates and guesses about a dead genius usually recall the afternoon of a funeral when friends and relatives begin to gossip over the estate and the heirs of a departed rich one.

The Legacy of Ibsen

When the apportionments are known there are ejaculations of surprise, incredulous shoulder-shrugs and lifted eyebrows. Things are never quite as they should be. So is it when a great dramatist, painter, composer or poet dies; great in the universal sense, one whose work has gone across the borders of his own land. If he has made a school, terrible is the struggle for his place. Sometimes his genius has been so comprehensive that there is no inheritance to be divided; this was the case with Richard Wagner, who said all he had to say, leaving nothing for his disciples to develop. He closed his epoch, the Romantic in music. His personality was so overwhelming that he crushed all hopes of reasonable imitation. There is another sort of genius that breaks paths, blazes trails, and to him we look for a school, for genuine disciples. Franz Liszt is the most notable example of this class in modern times. He did not perfect a form, he inaugurated a new one, the Symphonic Poem; from him Saint-Saëns, Tschaikowsky, Richard Strauss, the entire Neo-Russian school,

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the Belgian, the new French and later German schools date their genesis. Without him modern instrumental music would be inconceivable.

Whether Henrik Ibsen will have a direct successor is of less importance than the question of his ultimate influence, and this influence during his lifetime was profound. It may be noted among the playwrights of all lands, without distinction of genres. We know that Ibsen was a severe formalist, yet it is not his form but his attitude toward life, his specific vision, that has worked upon the minds of his contemporaries, coloring their themes, their dialogues, their dénouements. This influence, none the less powerful because of its silent progress, extends to the lighter and more elastic varieties of plays. It gives to Bernard Shaw's farces and comedies their sub-acid flavor; it forms the somewhat sinister background for many pieces of the ultra-Parisian school:—Mirbeau, Hervieu, François de Curel, Eugène Brieux, Jules Lemaître, Georges de Porto-Riche; even the light-hearted Maurice Donnay has opened some doors through which the breeze blows from the North.

In Germany

To Germany Ibsen has been a cruel master. He topsy-turveyed the old school of writers, and the new generation, headed by Hauptmann and Sudermann, has held the boards ever since. Wedekind, whose *Erdgeist* has had such an inexplicable success; Max Halbe, whose *Jugend* we saw here and were horrified—nor was *Der Strom* any less Ibsenish; Kalbeck, Johannes Schlaf, Voss (*Eva*), Von Wolzogen, Holz, Paul Lindau—a little old fashioned, as is Heyse—Heinz Tovote, Zabeltitz, Erich Hartleben—since dead—Felix Philippi, Wildenbruch and a host of younger men are all plastered with Ibsen's broad and pessimistic brush.

In Italy

In Italy, in the country of Goldoni, where gloom is not supposed to have its abode, especially in the theatres, Ibsen has had a depressing influence. The more hardy northerners sup their artistic sorrow with a comfortable spoon. After a black soul-racking drama the German restores the psychical balance by way of his healthy hunger and thirst. He knows that after all it is only a play. A sufferer from *weltschmerz,* Hauptmann nevertheless contrived to give a poetic quality to Ibsen's philosophy of individualism; witness *The Sunken Bell,* in which both Ibsen and Nietzsche struggle through the music of the verse. However, not so in Italy. With the characteristic exaggeration of the southern temperament the ideas of the Norwegian are transformed into

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something ferocious. D'Annunzio, who at times is a wonderful literary chameleon, has played with the Ibsen dramatic and ethical counters, dipping them into the glittering dye of his own brilliant poetic speech, but deforming their meanings almost beyond recognition. Nor is Marco Praga very different. The late Sicilian dramatist, Verga, author of *Cavalleria Rusticana,* a man of dramatic ability, did not betray affinities to the northern school, though the realism of *Cavalleria Rusticana*—not the opera—is potent. The piece is a small masterpiece.

Russia has her own national pessimism and does not need to import much. The gay days of Gogol's *Der Revizor* have gone; instead we are given the underground drama of Gorky or the powerful preachments of Tolstoy, whose *Powers of Darkness* is truly a symphony in black—its blackness has the ebon and poignant quality of Tschaikowsky's Pathetic Symphony. Gorky revels in cellars. His folk are generally used-up men and women and hurled upon the dramatic canvas. Vivid characterization, but no development, no plot, no beginning, no ending, is there in these impressionistic sketches. Gorky has read Ibsen and Nietzsche not wisely; his tramps spout philosophy at the most inopportune moments.

In Sweden, Holland, Hungary, and Poland

In Sweden there is Strindberg; in Holland, Herman Heijermans has the most promising talent. His *Good Hope, Kettenlieder* and kindred plays are anarchistic this far — they show the narrow, toilsome lives of fisher folk, of the crushed proletarians in Amsterdam, with little comment from the author. Heijermans has been unquestionably affected by Ibsen. He is an individualist; but he is also a humorist and his comedies with all their bitter tang are fresh and enjoyable. Hungary has first-class dramatic talent, but it has not been translated into other tongues, and it is the world-writers we must now discuss. But there are not many successors to Kisfaludy's *Tartars in Hungary, Irene,* and the rest; nor living poets like Alexander Petöfi or Vorösmarty. Francis Herezeg has written plays; yet it would seem that John Arany and Imre Madách still hold their own—the latter's epic, *The Tragedy of Man,* is Goethian in its ideals. Of Poland I can say little, with the exception of Sienkiewicz, because I know little. There is nevertheless a strong modern movement headed by the eccentric, gifted Przybyszewski, whose best plays are in one act—unlike his name. Austria succumbed to Ibsen from the first; that charming talent, Arthur Schnitzler, and the versatile Herman Bahr are among the best known of the younger men; the author of *Eckerman* is also an Ibsen epigone.

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Spain among the elder men has José Echegaray to show that this Catholic country boasts fierce dissidents. *El Gran Galeoto* — which New York saw in both its German and English garbs—is a strong study of jealousy, as are this Spaniard's recent efforts. Echegaray is realistic to the core and a first night with him is usually attended by demonstrations in the playhouse. England, ever disliking Ibsen—New York has seen more of his plays publicly performed—has been forced to listen to the great man in private, usually at the merciless hands of the enthusiastic amateur. We have been mildly reproached by an English critic for exhibiting enthusiasm over Ibsen—"he is *vieux jeu* for us in London." Precisely is he not an old jest, for he has never been rightfully performed in England. Long before Shaw wrote his brilliant challenge, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism,* there had been performances of *A Doll's House* and *Ghosts* and other plays in a public New York theatre by competent actors. This, while London was holding its breath at secret performances of the Norwegian by stage societies and deadly propagandists of various kinds. Little wonder the Ibsen cult was called morbid. The morbidity lay in the method of producing him, in the attitude of the public toward him. On the continent there was no such hypocrisy. And Richard Mansfield and New York accepted Bernard Shaw before London. But the Ibsen lesson was speedily apprehended by several English playwrights, though I do not agree with those who read Ibsen into every play of Mr. Pinero.

In Spain and England

Whatever else he is, Ibsen is first a poet, and poet-like he has strengthened his work by the artistic use of the symbol. Mr. Pinero is a man of intellect, of first-rate talent, but he is not a poet. Luckily he knows this. There are Ibsen passages in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray,* in *Iris* and in that rather futile piece, *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith.* But that is all. A general concision in the technique and a selection of subjects in sober middle class life may be set down to Ibsen's permeating influence; for example, Pinero's best comedy, *The Benefit of the Doubt,* is as caustic as Ibsen in its depiction of the bourgeois, in its unveiling of the pettiness of the pretentious. Yet it could be as well ascribed to Henri Becque as to Ibsen. And it is really Pinero's own. Henry Arthur Jones has written plays that are decidedly more Ibsenish than Mr. Pinero's. Mr. Jones admires the moral earnestness of Ibsen, for he is a morally earnest playwright himself. Of Mr. Shaw it is unnecessary to dilate upon in this gallery. He is all for Ibsen, though he

Pinero, Jones, and Shaw

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has admitted that he likes his own plays better. One may hardly cavil at this—he is certainly more amusing than the grim skald of *Brand*. Nevertheless, Shaw is of the Ibsen breed, plus Hibernian wit. His *Widower's Houses* is Ibsen transposed to another key; and I doubt if Ibsen himself could have handled with such skill and tact the difficult subject of *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. But *Cæsar and Cleopatra* no man but Shaw could have conceived. *Man and Superman* is a blending of Ibsen, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, not forgetting the inevitable Shaw in the dialogue and dénouement.

There are many other writers of plays in England who are Ibsenian. Ireland has escaped him—excepting Shaw. Yeats is a poet of the mysterious; he shows more of Maeterlinck in his plays. The most gifted of living Irish dramatists is J. M. Synge, who is totally Celtic, more Celtic than Yeats, as Celtic as Tolstoy is Russian, or Carducci Italian. From Synge much may come. *The Well of the Saints, Riders to the Sea,* and *The Shadow of the Glen* point to a medium wherein the folk-element and a poetic psychology might be artfully and effectively combined. Synge's work is fairly odorous of Irish soil and character.

In America

Ibsen in America! Stop! Not the accustomed snakes in Ireland will I draw from the well-worn bag of metaphors, but I must simply evade the question. Americans are optimists at the theatre, pessimists in politics, idealists in love, and realists in business. We worship money more than art, and sentimentalism more than either. Let us be frank. Ibsen may have affected the younger generation, but that generation has not yet knocked at our door (though probably it is knocking at managerial doors where it will never enter). Latter-day American literature is a series of evasions and compromises; its original drama is as yet non-existent. Therefore to discuss the influence of Ibsen would be as ineffectual as the training of great guns upon an empty, sandy shore. And, yet, I firmly believe that here in America are the greatest potentialities of a new and powerful literature and drama. When we shake off the puritanism that has strangled us mentally, emotionally and spiritually, when that welcome day arrives, may come the great awakening in our arts; but not until then.

And now, having superficially gone over the field of living dramatists, let us draw tauter the line and exclude all but a few representative names. Pinero has enjoyed, and still enjoys, a greater popularity in England and America and the English-speaking colonies than Ibsen ever did, or

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doubtless ever will. But Pinero is no successor to Ibsen; he is admired in a general way on the continent, though he never created a big sensation. There is Ibsen's fellow-countrymen, the "genial" Björnson, who is a too copious and versatile writer to master even the dramatic form as did Ibsen. August Strindberg?

Has Ibsen a Successor?

I first printed the story that Ibsen in his latter years had Strindberg's photograph on his desk, which he occasionally apostrophized thus: "There is one greater than I." Since Ibsen's death I have been told another side of the story. What Ibsen did say was this: "I like Strindberg's picture; he looks so crazy." Which sounds like Ibsen, even if untrue. No, Strindberg is not crazy. Far from it. He is a man of genius, with a temperament so emotional that at one time he could hardly control its tumultuousness. Ideas and images are created by him in such intoxicating abundance that his helm does not always control the ship. Yet the man who constructed in logical cold blood such plays as *Countess Julie* or *The Father, Gläubiger,* the double dramas, the historic plays, the poems, novels and essays is hardly to be called a madman. He is a fierce Ibsen-hater and has written plays to contravert Ibsen. After *Ghosts* I know of few more terrible things than *Countess Julie.* Strindberg has the universal quality in his work, but it is a brave critic who would predict for him a repetition of Ibsen's domination of the drama.

In Germany the two names that come first to the lips are those of Gerhart Hauptmann and Hermann Sudermann. Hauptmann is a philosophic poet who happens to write plays; Sudermann is a dramatist and novelist. He is ultra-modern, a master of technique, and the thesis of his plays always deals with the present, though evolved from an idea rather than a fact; Hauptmann, however, has genius. It was a stroke of genius to have made the mob the hero of *The Weavers;* it was a poetic triumph to have written that exquisite *Sunken Bell.* Both these men are worthy to be leaders of the dramatic movement, yet one feels that Hauptmann is the worthier of the pair to wear the Ibsen mantle. He proved in *Rose Bernd* that he could touch the human heart by old-fashioned methods much more than Ibsen.

France and Belgium remain. Maeterlinck's name is usually associated with Ibsen's, as were Goethe and Schiller's, Schubert and Schumann's, Wagner and Liszt's—all of which conjunctions are indications of fatty degeneration of the brain. Maeterlinck is as unlike Ibsen as Mozart differs from Claude Debussy. With all his symbolism, his "interior,"

Maeterlinck, and Recent French Dramatists

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his "static" drama, Maurice Maeterlinck has composed the most poetic drama of the nineteenth century, *Péllèas et Mélisande.* It is as new in its form and speech as *Tristan and Isolde* was new in music. When Maeterlinck is summed up by the critical Button-Moulders after his death, his supreme achievement will be recognized as *Péllèas et Mélisande.* It is the apotheosis of the mystic forces of life set forth in exquisite diction. It charms, it exalts.

The Frenchmen of genuine dramatic force are Octave Mirbeau, Paul Hervieu, François de Curel, Eugène Brieux and a few others. Brieux's play, *Les Avaries,* with its ghastly thesis, is Ibsen in intent, though going far beyond that poet in its frankness and in its conclusions. It has been heartily praised by Mr. Shaw. All Brieux's dramas are built on a thesis: doctors, charity (*Les Bienfaiteurs*), art, universal suffrage. He is a drastic writer. M. de Curel has undoubted psychological powers, though he is careless in the construction of his very striking plays. *La Fille Sauvage, The New Idol, Les Fossiles,* and *L'Envers d'une Sainte*—this latter is replete with shattering irony and disillusion. Henri Lavedan is known here through *The Duel.* His *Le Prince d'Aurec,* however, is a better play. Mirbeau is a savage and tremendous writer, an anarchist of letters as well as by propaganda of deed. *Business is Business* was not adequately translated or interpreted in America. *Les Mauvais Bergers* gives a fair idea of this revolutionist's quality. He is a true artistic son of Ibsen, a man of gloomy imagination, a "reversed" poet. Paul Hervieu is more polished, though almost as bitter. He is a master of stage-craft, a cruelly logical thinker and in reality owes more to Dumas the younger and Henri Becque than to Ibsen. His new piece, *The Awakening,* is in a more romantic frame than *Les Tenailles,* or *The Labyrinth.*

It is not necessary to consider in detail the men of Antoine's "Théâtre Libre"—Hennique, Camille Fabre, Jullien, Ancey, Donnay, Paul Adam and the rest. Sardou the prestidigitator still lives; Ohnet will never die, his enemies say; Rostand and his bon-bon art hardly counts except at the box-office (a necessary region, by the way); while Catulle Mendès, versatile ever, and his brother-in-law, Emile Bergerat, and Jean Richepin, are invincible Romanticists. Probably the influence of Dumas *fils* is still stronger in Paris than Ibsen's—but it has produced no replicas of that popular man.

After Ibsen? I am sure I can't say. It would not be a bad idea if we first mastered the meanings and technique of his plays before nominating his successor. So let me pose the case thus: After Ibsen?—Henrik Ibsen—which is begging the question. But can you make a better suggestion?

James Huneker.

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LITERATURE

SHAKESPEARE AND SHAKESPEAREANS[1]

To a layman the contrast between Professor Raleigh's volume and the writings of Shakespeare scholars generally is very astonishing. These worthy men to whom we owe so much in the matter of textual purification have, as is well known, left us another and most painful legacy. The Shakespeare "finds" seem small beside the Shakespeare rubbish heaps. And as to that broader criticism which Professor Raleigh here essays it depends less on learning than on natural gifts, and Shakespeareans usually have no other gift than pertinacity. Like Coleridge and Hazlitt, Professor Raleigh belongs to the class of men who would have discovered Shakespeare even if they had lived in Shakespeare's time, which would be an absurd thing to say of any other recent author of a "life" or an appreciation. Surely there is no warrant for the view that a Shakespeare scholar necessarily feels any interest in Shakespeare himself. That is the romantic assumption of Shakespeare worshippers, who will have it that all are drawn by the magic of the poet when many are drawn by the magic of his name.

It is just possible [says Professor Raleigh] that the store of facts concerning him may yet be increased. But it is not likely; now that antiquaries and scholars have toiled for generations, with an industry beyond all praise, in the search for lost memorials. These are the diligent workers among the ruins, who when the fabric of our knowledge has crumbled to atoms, still

> As for seed of stars, stoop for the sand,
> And by incessant labor gather all.

The enthusiasm which keeps them at work has been truly described by one of the chief of them, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. "No journey," he says, "is too long, no trouble too great, if there is a possibility of either resulting in the discovery of the minutest scrap of information respecting the life of our national poet." By these ungrudging labors all that we are entitled to hope for has been achieved.

But both grammarians and antiquaries seem to the layman to have had their reward and he cannot be in the least sentimental about them.

[1] *Shakespeare.* By Walter Raleigh. American Series of English Men of Letters. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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For "our national poet" is a national institution, paying in honors, and there is no more need of assuming a love of Shakespeare in a Shakespearean than a love of government in a man who cleans the windows of a government building. Call a man King of poets for two centuries and there will be no lack of busy and superserviceable exegetes and annotators with reputations based on proximity and incomes drawn from one another's footnotes — court flunkeys and scullions of scholarship, valued, in the outcome, for their small utilities, but bearing no resemblance to real critics, who are men that have some kinship with the King. "The embroidery of Shakespeare," says Professor Raleigh, "has become a national industry, harmless enough so long as it is not mistaken for criticism." But it is mistaken for it, and men are appointed to university chairs on the strength of the mistake, and long, dreary, heartless volumes follow, marked throughout (to the layman's mind) by the strongest proofs of natural antipathy to Shakespeare, but tolerated for the good of the cause. It is incredible to a layman that Shakespearean scholars should not hate the poet that makes them write as they do. The great mass of their irrelevancies bear witness to their personal ennui, showing how the poor wretches had to kill time while serving out their sentences in the great Shakespearean House of Correction.

Professor Raleigh, as a scholar and a sifter of Shakespeareana, has more patience with these busy people than we in our highly prized Shakespearean illiteracy can understand, but there are several passages in his book that group and characterize them shrewdly. In the first place there are the limiting class of critics, never resting till they pin the poet down—

> The truth is that Shakespeare, by revealing his whole mind to us, has given us just cause to complain that his mind is not small enough to be comprehended with ease. It is one of man's most settled habits, when he meets with anything that is new and strange, to be unhappy till he has named it, and when he has named it, to be forever at rest. Science is retarded not a little by the false sense of explanation that comes from the use of Greek and Latin names, which, when they are examined, prove to be nothing but laborious descriptions of the facts to be explained. The naming and re-naming of Shakespeare, which has gone on merrily for centuries under the care of sponsors for good and evil, is more mischievous than this: the names given to him are not even fairly descriptive of a difficulty. They are labels impudently affixed to one aspect or another of his many-sided work. Books have been written to prove that he was an atheist; that he was a Roman Catholic; that he was an Anglican; that he was a man deeply imbued with the traditions and sentiments of a Puritanic home —for, to the credit of human intelligence be it recorded, no one has yet said, in so many words, that he was a Puritan. Party government was not invented in his day; but much ink has been spent on the attempt to classify his political convictions, and to reduce them to a type.

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Then as to linguistic commentaries—

> Here the good progress made in recent times by the science of language is of little avail: most of the masters of that science are men who know all that can be known about language except the uses to which it is put. The methods of science are invaluable, and they will prove fruitful in the study of Shakespeare when they come to be applied by those who understand how poetry is made, and who join the end to the beginning. . . . Much of Shakespeare's language is hot from the mind, and only partially hardened into grammar. It cannot be judged save by those whose ease of apprehension goes some way to meet his ease of expression.

Again there are the moralizers—

> But it is also true that in this play [*Measure for Measure*], as in some others, Shakespeare is too wide and strong, too catholic in his sympathies and too generous in his acceptance of facts, for the bulk of his readers. His suburbs are not their suburbs; nor is his morality their morality. . . . This is indeed the everlasting difficulty of Shakespeare criticism, that the critics are so much more moral than Shakespeare and so much less experienced. . . . The ready judgments which are often passed on Shakespeare's most difficult characters and situations are like the talk of children. Childhood is amazingly moral, with a confident, dictatorial, unflinching morality. The work of experience, in those who are capable of experience, is to undermine this early pedantry, and to teach tolerance, or at least suspension of judgment. Nor is this an offence to virtue; rather virtue becomes an empty name, or fades into bare decorum, where sin is treated as a dark and horrible kind of eccentricity. . . . Many men make acquaintance with Christian morality as a branch of codified law, and dutifully adopt it as a guide to action, without the conviction and insight that are the fruit of experience. A few, like Shakespeare, discover it for themselves, as it was first discovered, by an anguish of thought and sympathy.

On the whole Professor Raleigh probably dislikes Shakespeareana as much as we laymen do. "There is no writer," he says, "who has been so laden with the impertinences of prosaic enthusiasm and learned triviality." But he remains tolerant, arguing that "it would be a tedious task to demolish all the foolish piles that have been erected with intent to honor the poet." The wonder is that he is not vindictive since he has actually toiled through those piles.

And after all, is there no excuse for such vindictiveness? Thackeray called a snob a man who meanly admires mean things. Why did he not make room in his definition for a mean way of admiring great things? Are there not snobs of religion, snobs of poetry, snobs of all the arts? Carlyle pardoned Boswell because he had an instinct for merit and gravitated toward the great. But it is the conceded merit and the established greatness that draw the Boswells of the world. If now and then their work has value it does not make them personally less odious. And if

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we have profited from a Boswell, or a Theobald, think what we have suffered from a hundred others of the type—what buzzings and borings, and overlaying of poems with caterpillar nests, and staling of great men's memories, and moral medication, and paring down of thoughts to fit the heads of smallest size. Because we get a good reflection of a man in a Boswell puddle, it does not follow that we need bless mud and water generally. Not long ago a Shakespearean burst into thanksgivings that so many men had busied themselves with Shakespeare and pondered and toiled and written interminably, and he found them all filled with the most beautiful devotion, crowding to testify to the glory of their god. But that is not the layman's view. He thinks rather of the skipper in the cheese and the oyster-crab living in by no means disinterested commensalism with the oyster whom he cannot understand. That seems to him the true type of Shakespeare commentators. The method is the same as Pope found it — they still "explain the meaning quite away"; and the motive still as Dr. Johnson defined it — the hope of a borrowed prestige while tucked safely away under a great reputation.

We have quoted the above passages merely to show Professor Raleigh's attitude toward Shakespearean critics, and we would not imply that he spends much time in railing at them, for the tone of the book is indeed in no wise controversial. The antagonism between his work and theirs is none the less irreconcilable. His is in the line of descent of genuine criticism, the books that can be read and not merely consulted. It is full of the life not only of the subject but of the critic—personal, if you will, but real criticism is always personal; there is no way of compiling a genuine response to an appeal to feeling. He is a Shakespearean scholar who has taken to heart the line: "Learning is but an adjunct of ourself." Accordingly, he allows a reasonable scope to intuitions and experience, arriving at much by reading simply which others miss by complicated intellectual manœuvres.

> What they fail to remark is that in the very act of rescuing buried meanings, alleged to be all important, they are condemning the work of the playwright. Shakespeare is subtle, fearfully and wonderfully subtle; and he is sometimes obscure, lamentably obscure. But in spite of all this, most of his plays make a distinct and immediate impression, by which, in the main, the play is to be judged. The impression is the play.

But the contrast will not be noted by Shakespeareans, for the "simple truth" is still "miscalled simplicity." If we were a well-informed reviewer, we should, after a compliment to Professor Raleigh's scholarship, remark that he had perhaps not brought Shakespeareana down to date,

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omitted, for example, a due emphasis on Shakespeare as a practical playwright (a point of view much valued just now), or had left out the latest turn in the discussion of the Sonnets, or said nothing about the recent vindication of Theobald and retribution of Pope. But this might leave the impression that after all he was in the same class as Dr. Dowden and many another indefatigable person, and the point that, as a layman, we wish to emphasize, is that he can be read with pleasure by those who have tried to read the other books and failed.

Professor Raleigh is a worshipper but without a ritual. What he says of Shakespeare cannot be reduced to propositions and divided from his manner of saying it. The truth is to be found not only in the matter, but in what reviewers call his style. They speak of his style as if it were an embellishment, filigree work pretty in itself, but by no means essential to the grim business of Shakespeare criticism. To describe it as brilliant is to call to mind the gymnastics of Shaw or Chesterton. A brilliant style nowadays always suggests strain of some sort, to the reader or the writer, probably to both. Style, of course, is a kind of personal accuracy, without which a writer cannot tell the truth. He fumbles and misses, guesses at other people's truth, but cannot tell his own. Of Professor Raleigh's style the layman will be delightfully unconscious till he comes to analyze the sources of his pleasure in the book.

Frank Moore Colby.

SHAKESPEARE SEEN WITH COMMON SENSE[1]

It is one of the curiosities of criticism that in spite of the unrivalled fame of Shakespeare as a poet, he has not till very recently been appreciated as a playwright. Thousands of volumes, in nearly every modern language, have been devoted to his work; but almost all of these have considered it as written to be read instead of written to be acted in the theatre. The reason is that when at last Shakespeare came to be regarded as the greatest author in the world (at the beginning of the nineteenth century, roughly speaking), his fame was chiefly trumpeted by critics like Coleridge, whose knowledge of literature was very great but whose knowledge of the theatre was very slight indeed. I suppose that the present popularity of the minor Elizabethans as subjects for study in our universities is due originally to the very wonderful appreciative notes which Charles Lamb appended, in 1808, to his "Specimens of English

[1] *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist.* By George Pierce Baker. New York: The Macmillan Company.

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Dramatic Poets." Yet Lamb himself, writing "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare," distinctly stated, "It may seem a paradox, but I cannot help being of opinion that the plays of Shakespeare are less calculated for performance on a stage than those of almost any other dramatist whatever." *"Less calculated for performance on a stage,"* are the words that Lamb deliberately applied to the plays of a dramatist who was manager and chief shareholder of his theatre and dependent directly for his livelihood on the popular success of the pieces he devised to be presented by his own company of actors! Yet so great was Lamb's genius as an appreciator of poetry that the obvious bosh of such a statement as I have quoted gained currency not only with devoted readers of old plays but with many subsequent critics as well. I have read book after book on Shakespeare, written during the latter half of the nineteenth century, wherein the critic was obviously not aware that the great Elizabethan actor-manager designed his plays primarily to please a particular public when performed in a particular theatre by a particular company of actors, and never seemed to care especially whether, as works of literature, they were read and liked or not. So little attention was paid to the dramaturgic side of Shakespeare's work that it became common to consider him impeccable as a dramatist, just as in his highest moments he is supreme as a poet; and any common-sensible attempt to study the evolution of his theatric art from crude experimentation in his younger years to mastery of dramaturgic means at the summit of his career would have been considered as a sacrilege. His reputation as a dramatist, as well as his reputation as a poet, was lodged with critics who knew next to nothing of the theatre. How little of the theatre was known to Coleridge and Lamb is evident to any one who tries to read the plays that they attempted; and one suspects from the dusty closet-air of many later criticisms that the reverend critics had seldom or never passed an evening of amusement in the play-house.

In America, during the last decade, much has been accomplished toward shifting this mistaken point of view in considering the Elizabethan drama by two professors who know the theatre through and through. Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia, and Professor George Pierce Baker, of Harvard, have both, in their lectures and their published criticisms, repeatedly asserted that a play can be appreciated properly only when considered from the standpoint of the physical conditions of the theatre it was meant to fit, the psychologic nature of the audience it was planned to please, and the sort of acting by which it was to be exploited. In approaching Shakespeare, they have at once admitted his supremacy as a poet and a judge of human life, and have there-

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after devoted most of their attention to a study of the dramaturgic side of his work, of the technical means which he devised to gain the greatest possible effect upon his immediate audience by adapting to his uses the resources of the Elizabethan stage.

It is from this point of view that Professor Baker considers the great master of the theatre, in his recent volume on "The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist." Even were his materials less skilfully assembled and his critical opinions less sane and just, his book would still be valuable because of its straightforward attempt to grant to Shakespeare his due meed of critical consideration as a playwright and a playwright merely. In this book we see the dramatist experimenting first with the legacy of his predecessors in the theatre, and gradually developing, always along practical lines, the comparative perfectness of his maturer craftsmanship.

Recognizing the necessary influence upon a dramatist of the audience that he is writing for, Professor Baker begins his book with a chapter on the public of 1590—"a public eager for information as well as amusement, unprovided with information by many of the purveyors of news at the present time, [which] came to the theatre day after day asking little more, if anything more, than to hear a story, new or renewed, interestingly told." Thus he shows at the outset why Shakespeare was of necessity a story-telling dramatist, and why, in complicating his plots, he almost always selected narrative material already current and familiar to his public. The second chapter is devoted to a very careful study of the physical conditions of the Elizabethan stage. Although Professor Baker is forced to leave some points still mooted—the question of stage-signs and of curtains for example—this chapter is the best popular presentation of the essential features of Shakespeare's stage that has yet been published. In studying the development of the dramatist's technique, Professor Baker devotes more attention to the element of plot than to the element of character, because plot was what the patrons of the Globe primarily demanded; but he shows skilfully how Shakespeare, while growing gradually to satisfy more completely this demand for crowded and complicated story, grew also at the same time to satisfy his own innate artistic craving for subtle carefulness of characterization. The most interesting point in Professor Baker's chapter on the great tragedies is his decision that Shakespeare never developed a conscious critical opinion of tragedy as a particular form of drama, but conceived it merely as chronicle history, sensing no formal distinction between *King John* and *King Richard III.* on the one hand and *Hamlet* and *Othello* on the other. The tragedies became tragedies merely be-

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cause Shakespeare's maturer craftsmanship gave them subconsciously a greater unity of informing purpose and intensity of design.

There are certain points in Professor Baker's study that one is tempted to disagree with; but on the whole his book is extremely valuable because of the sound common sense of his attitude toward the playwright and his work. Nothing is more uncommon than common sense in the realm of Shakespeareana; and it is good to find it in this volume.

Walter Clayton.

RICHARD WAGNER—BUSINESS MAN[1]

SCARCELY any attribute of Wagner's personal life is bruited abroad more widely than the one of his business laxity. Readers of that huge mass of Wagner letters have discovered long before this that Wagner was almost constantly in need of money; he borrowed as often as possible and from whomever possible. Some of these debts and their aftermaths have been construed to prove that Wagner was, personally—not artistically—lacking in all that sentimental readers of music biographies would long to have him be; while others who idolize him have merely put this question to one side with the assertion that Wagner was a genius, was devoid of business instincts, that he had the fine and techy soul of an artist which knew not the worth of *Mark* and *Pfennig.*

Very recently there has appeared a book which sets forth Wagner's business acumen with unmistakable distinctness. It is *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner,* and its author is Angelo Neumann. The letters from Wagner employed in this volume show very clearly that the master builder of Bayreuth knew how and when to drive a hard business bargain which, in its care for details, would not have cast discredit upon a merchant whose soul the sacred fire of genius had not seared.

Angelo Neumann was a singer who turned impresario and who, managing the travelling "Richard Wagner Theater," did yeoman service in spreading the musical gospel of Wagner in Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Austria and Russia. So it is readily to be understood that his dealings with Wagner were frequently of sheerly businesslike nature. In these "Recollections" Angelo Neumann presents a vivid and interesting picture of his acquaintance and friendship with Wagner. The book has the personal tone throughout, which is its greatest charm, and it

[1] *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner.* Von Angelo Neumann. Leipzig: L. Staackmann.

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deals with the artistic beginnings of men and women of the opera stage who have become famous figures: Seidl, Nikisch, Reicher-Kindermann, Lilli Lehmann, Mottl and Klafsky, to mention only a few. If at times the narrative grazes the boundaries of what appears to be fiction, the voice of criticism is silenced, for the author does not claim to be writing history, but only recollection; and the haze of perspective frequently mellows unromantic facts and converts them, to the mind's ear, into interesting fiction.

So we may skip the early meetings with Wagner and begin with the time when Neumann was associated with Dr. August Förster in the management of the Leipziger Stadttheater. This was in 1876, the year of the first Bayreuth Festival, and Neumann witnessed the Bayreuth performances, after which he besought Wagner to sell him the rights for producing *The Ring of the Nibelungen* at Leipzig. But Wagner was optimistic in his faith of Bayreuth and refused then to believe entirely in the enormous financial failure of the first festival. When he came to full realization of the deficit and when the future of Bayreuth looked inky he closed a contract with Neumann and his partner, and the letter of contract was deliberate and clear in its business demands. Letters of business detail follow, but Wagner's demands were such that the matter of the *Ring* for Leipzig was dropped for the time. It was renewed again later, and in April, 1878, *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* were performed at Neumann's theatre. To keep an eye on Wagner's artistic interest in these performances the composer had sent Anton Seidl and Hans Richter to Leipzig to witness the rehearsals. This was Neumann's first meeting with Seidl, but soon afterward Wagner asked Neumann to engage Seidl for the post of assistant conductor. A curious feature is found in Wagner's spelling of Seidl's name, for more often than otherwise it is spelled Seidel. So, too, does Wagner make plea for the engagement of Mottl; and when one considers that Arthur Nikisch had already been engaged, it would seem that Neumann had in his staff a collection of remarkable young musicians.

Thumbing this volume at will, one discovers the almost constant question of money and of business details, punctuated occasionally by a protest from Wagner, or from Frau Cosima, that the existing contracts are not enough to his advantage. It would be idle waste of time here to attempt a description of the demands made by Wagner; but it would be far more idle, in the face of them, to pretend that Wagner was lax in his business sense. Naturally enough can this assertion be met with the answer that the royalties received by Wagner for his works and the advance sums paid him for exclusive performance rights were ridiculously

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low; but then it should be remembered that Wagner's *Ring* was considered nothing less than a monstrosity of difficulties and that the waiting world was by no means ready to acclaim it wildly at first hearing. The Bayreuth Festival of 1876 was an enormous failure, and a great deal of propaganda for Wagner's music had to be made before the public stood with open ears ready to receive this masterwork.

So we are indebted to the author of this volume for a new phase of Wagner's character: that of the artistic merchant hawking his creations of genius, and forgetting not that they had a commercial value which had to be insisted upon. It shows us a vision of Richard Wagner the business man, artistic but shrewd, who placed his music dramas before the world and drove the best possible bargain for them.

The volume has other merits to recommend it to those who revel in the personal chatter about a great man and his life. Neumann has furnished an abundance of this, and it need trouble the reader but little to know whether he has strained at facts to produce fiction or whether he has invented fiction to clothe the skeleton of facts. Whichever it may be, it is interesting reading, as the following may prove: Therese Vogel, who sang the Brünnhilde in *Götterdämmerung,* used actually to ride the horse Grane off stage at the finale of the work, and the effect was of galloping directly into Siegfried's funeral pyre. For this she used a horse that at one time was the favorite of King Maximilian. At this point in the narrative the author, of course, declares that the horse was possessed of musical sense and knew exactly when its musical cue came. Now, when the Neumann company went to Berlin to present the *Ring* there, royal permission was obtained to take this horse from Munich to Berlin. But the animal died, and the recourse was that of getting an ordinary military horse and having a guardsman, disguised, ride him into the stage pyre. So it was schemed, and Neumann tells us, with much dramatic effect, that something prompted him to visit the stage just before this scene on the night of performance. He was assured that everything was in order, but he accidentally saw the guardsman who was to impersonate Brünnhilde, and found that he was made up as one of the choristers, with full gray straggly beard and long, unkempt hair. The impresario had only time to tear wig and beard from the head and face of the soldier and to wrap his head in a veil, for at that moment the signal for the ride was given!

Another interesting incident is that of the close of the *Ring* cycle in Berlin, when, in the presence of royalty, Neumann made a speech, in the middle of which Richard Wagner left the stage. Wagner declared that he had suffered an attack of heart trouble, but Neumann declares that

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Wagner marched off just at the moment when the impresario was expressing his gratitude to the imperial family for the support they had given this venture. The affair created a great deal of gossip and scandal, and it also caused a breach between Wagner and Neumann, which was healed only some time later, when further business dealings brought the two men together again.

In this volume there is clearly voiced a matter that is of particular interest to us, namely, the one of retaining *Parsifal* exclusively for Bayreuth. It appears that Wagner had promised Neumann that the rights for the *Parsifal* production should become Neumann's property in case this work was ever to be given outside of Bayreuth; and to this end Neumann travelled to the Bavarian Mecca in 1882 and heard *Parsifal.* A few days after that memorable first performance Neumann placed before Wagner the contracts covering the rights of the *Ring* and *Parsifal.* The former were quickly signed by Wagner, but then he halted and asked Neumann to delay the matter of *Parsifal.* This Neumann did and Wagner gratefully embraced him for it. Neumann declares that by humoring Wagner he resigned his claim to millions that *Parsifal* would have earned for him. He adds to the narrative of this incident a coda that is touching in its naïveté: After he left Wagner, Neumann told his son that he had waived his rights to *Parsifal,* and the youth replied: "Father, it is worth more than millions to have Richard Wagner express his gratitude to you!"

A final fact revealed by this book is amazing. In a letter dated Venice, September 29, 1882, Wagner writes to Neumann: "Bayreuth will stand and fall with *Parsifal.* I expect Bayreuth to fall at my death, for I do not know any one and cannot imagine a person who can continue this project according to my wishes."

This was penned only six months before Wagner's death, and at that time he had been married to Cosima Wagner for twelve years. Yet, according to this missive, he did not for a moment consider Cosima Wagner capable to supervise the artistic and business affairs of Bayreuth! This will come as something approaching a shock to those who contend that the union of Richard Wagner and Cosima von Bülow was one of mind as well as of heart. It is too well known to reiterate how well Cosima has managed the Bayreuth affairs and still does manage them. She has even been accused of managing them with greater commercial keenness than artistic finesse. But that is quite another story.

Edward Ziegler.

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MR. HEWLETT AND HIS WORK[1]

It has been questioned whether a critic ever has any rightful concern with the future of those whose work he discusses; but the stern formalists who hold this rigorous view would deprive the reviewer of one of his chief delights. And should a defence of this harmless amusement be required, it might be found in the fact that speculation concerning the future achievements of an author, grave guesses as to what he may or may not do next, are a sign of the vitality of what he is actually doing. Every writer whose product is worthy of attention is a "promising" author, no matter what his age. The moment he ceases to be such the chapter of his real labors is closed. The nature, the limits of his "promise" are legitimate subjects of inquiry, and even though this interrogation of the future lead nowhere, it has served its purpose if it has made clearer the character of what has already been accomplished.

It may therefore be taken as significant of a lively interest in Mr. Maurice Hewlett's books, rather than of any dissatisfaction, that each one has suggested to his readers, as I believe, the query whither he is tending. It is little more than a decade since he declared himself to us, and in that short period he has made himself our creditor in a substantial amount. The list of his books denotes an achievement of such value, it evidences a talent so rich and various and original, as to make him one of the few men to be reckoned with. Yet not one of his admirers will accept one book, or even all the books he has yet written, as the full measure of his possibilities. The variety of theme and treatment he has essayed with success, the originality he has repeatedly shown, are warrant for large expectations. Those of his followers who learned to know him first from that delightful little volume, *Earthwork Out of Tuscany,* were lucky. There they discovered a unique book: penetrating criticism of Tuscan art and the Tuscan mind, charming bits of illuminating description, and certain little interludes of lovely fantasy that pointed out a new writer of fiction. In that perfect tragic idyll of the fifteenth century, *How Sandro Botticelli Saw Simonetta in the Spring,* one discovered a new Pater, with much of that master's intuition of the spirit of the middle age, with something of his wistful sense of beauty, and with much more than Pater's realization of character and evocation of the dramatic note.

The obvious prophecy was not long in fulfilment. In *The Forest Lovers* was discovered another unique book—a page out of Malory, translated into the spiritual idiom of the twentieth century. An intensely

[1] *The Stooping Lady.* By Maurice Hewlett. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

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modern book it was, and frankly so; there was no aping of the mock-antique so familiar in countless "historical" novels. But again was shown the instinctive sympathy that can re-create a past age. The book has "atmosphere" in the true sense; the picture has depth, the haze of distance is over the background.

To attempt to trace a consistent and uniform development of Mr. Hewlett's fine talent would be futile. I shall not contend that each succeeding book has set him a precise pace forward on the straight line of his destiny. At every step he may have changed front, faced in a new direction; that does not matter. What is significant is that, strongly tinged as all his work is with a definite personality, each book has been something different. There is no danger of confusing *The Forest Lovers* with *Richard Yea-and-Nay,* or *The Queen's Quair* with *The Fool-Errant,* for each is an individual performance. Whether or not his last book is always his best, it at least gives us a new side of its author's mind. To write thus is to serve notice on the world that one is alive, a creator and not a mere imitator, even of one's self.

One outward characteristic, it is true, Mr. Hewlett's books have had in common: that of showing his persistent preoccupation with times that are past. His incorrigible romanticism has seemed to welcome the large sense of space and freedom that the past always gives. Not that he has used this sense of freedom as a cloak for any vagueness of portraiture or inexactitude of setting. For that his imagination is too alert, his concern with real men and women too constant. Undoubtedly his most striking quality has been his power of vivifying and humanizing the past, making his characters stand out as genuine against their rich historical background. I think Mr. Hewlett cannot be taxed with the notorious failing of the better sort of historical novelists; he has not made his background his chief concern. Nevertheless it has always been wrought with sufficient elaboration to challenge attention, and this is unfortunate in so far as it may have distracted the reader from the characters themselves. For in spite of his powerful historical sense, and his obvious predilection for what has been, Mr. Hewlett is that very modern product, the psychological realist. He is insatiably curious of the abnormalities of the soul; he is a searcher after motives, hidden springs of conduct, the entity that lies back of the outward person. Nowhere is this more evident than in the most "historical" of his novels, his largest, finest work, *The Queen's Quair*—a book that must be ranked among the greatest historical novels we have in English. Here is, to be sure, an imposing reconstruction of a historical period, faithful, minute, elaborate; but the book is also a complete realization of the marvellously complex character of the Scottish

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queen. The tragic figure of Mary is as real as if she had never existed outside of the author's brain. Bothwell, too, is a huge creation, and the figures of Darnley and Rizzio have a form and substance denied them in the annals of their time. Authentic history the book may or may not be; it is surely an authentic creation of the novelist.

Whether the historical romance, done even as Mr. Hewlett has done it, is a thing thoroughly worth doing at all, is a large question into which I have no intention of entering. Without stirring the embers of controversy it may be remarked that it would be interesting at least to see Mr. Hewlett's gift applied to the making of a wholly modern novel. And it is worthy of note that in his latest book he has taken a long stride nearer to our own time. *The Stooping Lady* carries us back something less than a hundred years, to the days just preceding the regency in England—a period of very special interest, but with much less of the romantic flavor than pertains to Plantagenet and Tudor times. Here the historical background is largely a matter of externals of dress and manner; the spirit is modern enough to require no great backward leap of the imagination. And, probably for this very reason, there emerges in this book for the first time a curious literary affinity of Mr. Hewlett's work. Hitherto he has seemed to stand very much by himself among living English writers; in *The Stooping Lady* he is frankly Meredithian—and Meredith, be it noted, is one of the most thoroughly modern of novelists! With the exception of that fantastic tale, *The Shaving of Shagpat,* he has never ventured far out of touch with his own time and country. His furthest fling into the backward and abysm of history is, if I mistake not, in *The Tale of Chloe,* an exquisite miniature of a period not much earlier than that to which Mr. Hewlett has come in his latest book. And in spirit, too, Meredith is as completely of the nineteenth century as in his choice of themes.

To find Mr. Hewlett, the arch-romanticist, the celebrant of the middle age and the Renaissance, following the path of the realist Meredith, is then somewhat surprising. The resemblance is not to be ignored. It appears in many a turn of phrase, in the swiftly moving, elliptical style; but it goes deeper than that. The persons of whom Mr. Hewlett writes are of the world that one knows in Meredith's books. The Stooping Lady herself, the proud Irish girl, Hermia Mary—Meredithian name!—is the kind of superb feminine creature in whom the elder master delights. With all allowances made for individual peculiarities of temper, she is at least half-sister to Diana and Aminta. David Vernour owns kinship with Beauchamp and with Matey Weyburn. More than all else, the story itself is of a kind that Meredith would delight to tell. Young David, the

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butcher, lifting himself above his station and loving a lady, loving her faithfully and winning her, reminds one irresistibly of the tailor's son, Evan Harrington. Even those trivial resemblances that seem so like coincidences and often mean so much are not lacking. Is it mere accident that one of Meredith's happiest names, Carinthia, reappears in this book? I suspect Mr. Hewlett of having been poring over *The Amazing Marriage.*

The suggestion of similarity in the ideas and methods of the two men is not intended to suggest that Mr. Hewlett is to be held up to scorn as an imitator. On the contrary, there is good cause for congratulation in the fact that he has come close enough to one of the greatest minds of our day to show the likeness to it of his own brain-stuff. No fear of his turning crass copyist of another man. There is enough individuality in *The Stooping Lady* to furnish forth dozens of novelists. And this may be conceded frankly, without the implication that the book shows us a greater Hewlett than we have ever known before. It is not his biggest work. He has not yet surpassed the glow and color, the intensity and the breadth of *The Queen's Quair. The Stooping Lady* is altogether on a smaller scale. Striking and original as is its idea, it has not the large movement, nor does it involve the tremendous issues, of the Scottish queen's story. And then, the *dénouement* is not fortunate. Tragic the story is, and the note of stern tragedy is sought in the solution. But the taking off of David by a stray bullet, when he had virtually completed his triumph, has too much the appearance of sheer accident. Exasperation, rather than pity and terror, is the concomitant of this tragedy.

It may be that to some readers this final flaw will seem fatal. Let the book be set down, then, as a failure. No great man was ever uniformly successful. If Mr. Hewlett fails, he fails in good company. For if *The Stooping Lady* be not positively a great book, it at least has great qualities. Leaving aside a few careless moments, its style is such as cannot be surpassed, if indeed it can be matched, by more than one or two men of our day. It paints the manners of a period with altogether unusual truth and delicacy. Greatest virtue of all, it gives us knowledge of real men and women, displaying them under the stress of emotions that raise them out of the common and make them typical of humanity. All other gifts of the novelist are of relative importance; this is his positive and supreme merit. By his latest exercise of it Mr. Hewlett has vindicated his claim on our gratitude.

Edward Clark Marsh.

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SONNETS

BY ROBERT R. LOGAN

LONGFELLOW

Poet of twilight and the children's hour!
Whose thoughts were gentle as the evening breeze
That whispers low the ancient mysteries
Of the far mountains to the listening flower;
Thou dost translate the elemental power
Into such rhythmic blooms and harmonies
As half conceal with their green tapestries
The world's embattled, mediæval tower.
Not thine to pierce into the vast Unknown,
Which lies beyond the boundaries of the mind,
Where speed the meteors and the comets thrown
By the wild hand of Chaos, but to find
Those tender thoughts and simple truths alone
Which have the power to subdue mankind.

GENIUS

Dimmed is the forest, vanished is the plain,
Mute are the birds, their heads beneath their wings;
The listless night-wind scarce a perfume brings
From the closed flowers and the nodding grain.
Now comes the priestess of the morn again
And on the hills her giant censer swings,
And lo! the forest all its matins sings
And bright-robed blossoms weave their fairy chain.
So lies the world of beauty silently,
Dormant, half-felt and wholly undescried,
Till some bright spirit of our mortal sky,
Flinging the shadows of the night aside,
Reveals it to the mind's bewildered eye
Transmuted and transfused and glorified.

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WILD SWANS

We are Convention's nurselings; with clipt wings
We float upon its basin tranquilly,
Or move demurely and with languid eye,
Unconscious of the joy that freedom brings,
Toward the light crumbs that the world's bounty flings.
But when the autumn comes and o'er us high
The great wild swans in whirring legions fly,
We start at the strange note the leader sings.
Then through our souls there rushes like a tide
The recollection of our liberty,
The long, bright rivers and the marshes wide
And dreamy sunshine of the Southern sky,
As, gazing upward with despair and pride,
We echo back in vain the ancient cry.

THE EMPTY SHELL

This body that we love, this cherished clay,
Through which for seventy years we gather pain
And call it life, how cold it doth remain
When the ethereal fire burns away
And leaves it like the clouds at close of day
When the red sun descends behind the chain
Of distant mountains and his purple train
Of vapors suddenly grows chill and gray!
That form a moment since instinct with power,
With beauty's smile and youth's impassioned glow,
Now withered lies like a November flower,
While we with pompous step sedate and slow
Escort it to the grave and grudge the hour
We spare for it from the world's gaudy show.

Robert R. Logan.

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SPECIAL ARTICLES

A SOCIAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE

BY GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP

Adjunct Professor of English, Columbia University

LANGUAGE is a necessary accompaniment of all human social development. As the medium of self-expression and communication, the means by which traditions are received and are passed on to succeeding generations, it is a more essential element in the life of a social body than are any of its organized political institutions. Without a national speech there can be no nation. Like the laws of the democratic state, the rules and uses of every language have arisen, more or less unconsciously, from the experience and from the sense of need of those who speak the language. As is true also of the state, there have been from time to time conscious attempts to codify the laws of language; but these attempts, in neither state nor language, have ever been completely successful and comprehensive. One cannot live by the constitution alone, nor can one speak the language by following the rules of the grammar. Both constitution and grammar represent respectively the effort of the most intelligent and thoughtful part of the community to reduce to formal expression the more obvious results of their experience and reflection. As we descend in the scale of intelligence, however, in the state, on the one hand, we reach the absolutely unthinking, partisan voter; and among the users of language, on the other, the blind imitator and follower of personal whim and prejudice. The duty of instruction, of inculcating active and right principles, would seem to be equally plain in both cases. The ideal toward which the democratic state must strive is a condition in which each member of the state is capable and desirous of thinking over questions of public interest for himself, of coming to an intelligent conclusion, and finally, of course, of recording his opinion by voting or otherwise. In the same way the ideal language would be the language of a community in which each member of the community, parent, teacher, author or scholar, assumed and carried out reasonable principles of responsibility toward the language. By this it is not meant that the use of every word or phrase should always be conscious and deliberate. Such a use of language would be far from the ideal; and, in fact, the instances in which such deliberate acts of judgment are neces-

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sary, in politics or in language, are comparatively infrequent. We live the greater part of our lives by habit, increasingly so as we grow older, and only occasionally are we compelled to make up our minds. The necessity, however, of having these habits based on good principles in the first place, and the advantage of having good principles at hand when the necessity of a new decision arises, whether for ourselves or for another, is sufficiently obvious. This theory of the development of the perfect language is confessedly contrary to the belief that good will come without taking thought, that in some mysterious and subconscious way the people, if not interfered with, will bring forth that which is right and excellent and, in every way, best. This the extreme of optimistic democracy is justified neither by the probabilities of the case nor by experience. If good comes, it comes through the intelligent direction and effort of individuals, and the greatest good will come when we have the greatest intelligence of the greatest number. There is need, therefore, of instruction, of conscious, directive effort, in language, in politics, and in all those matters which concern the social life and welfare of the race. It is from this moral and didactic point of view that we may profitably discuss for a moment the various attitudes which the individual may assume with respect to the laws and conventions of the social institution of language.

The attitude toward language first to be considered is one which we might call the anarchistic. Its distinctive mark is not so much ignorance of the proprieties and accepted uses of the language as deliberate and wanton violation of them. The linguistic anarchist may do violence not only to the simple rules of grammar of the language—this would be the crudest kind of anarchy—but in subtler ways may wrong the spirit of the language. Fortunately he is rarely met with in ordinary, colloquial intercourse, striking departures from normal use in familiar speech being too obvious and too soon growing wearisome to be long tolerated. Yet we do occasionally meet with persons of a sort of diseased linguistic sense—the little George Ades and Wallace Irwins not known to fame—whose one linguistic obsession seems to be to express things shockingly and surprisingly—not necessarily, you will observe, shocking and surprising things, but ordinary ideas dressed up in a wilfully perverse and inappropriate garb. The unspeakable weariness of conversation with such speakers we need not attempt to describe.

It is in the literary language, however, that the linguistic anarchist is most frequently met with, and there he is a clearly defined type. Failing to arrest attention by the quality of his thought or the charm of his expression, he forces himself upon our notice by shocking our sense of

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that which is becoming and normal in language. He depends upon a dull linguistic moral sense in his readers for the acceptance of whatever is novel and striking in language as permissible or even artistic. And unfortunately his faith is only too often justified by the result. That which at first seems a wanton piece of revolting violence, comes to be endured, then accepted, and even, in the end, regarded as admirable. As Bagehot remarks in his study of the poetry of Robert Browning, when "we put down a healthy, instinctive aversion, nature avenges herself by creating an unhealthy, insane attraction."

This healthy, instinctive aversion every sensitive reader must frequently feel toward the language in which Browning's poetry is written, toward those peculiarly Browningesque features of style which have contributed so much to the growth of the Browning cult. Our objection is not that this poetry has style, that it is individual. Its fault is that it has too much style, that it is too individual, and that it does not sufficiently take into account the persons to whom it is addressed. The author lays violent hands upon the language for no other reason than that he has some private purpose to accomplish. This appears in wilfully obscure syntax, in the unusual value and collocation of words, sometimes humorous but not always appropriately so. But above all it appears in rhyme, for here, besides the usual feeling for language, there is a special language convention that may be violated, the convention of rhyming. These grotesque rhymes, as they have been called, are sometimes appropriate to the subject matter of the poems in which they occur; but that their use is not dependent upon any such consideration is evidenced by such poems as "Count Gismond," "The Grammarian's Funeral," and many others, where they are altogether out of place. They are cheap sensational tricks, linguistic contortions, gone through with to make the dull reader gape and admire. Only one who had lost or who had never had any sensitiveness to the order and the fitness of language could ever become enamoured of such vicious creations.

Another obvious instance of the literary linguistic anarch is to be found in Whitman, in whom disregard of the traditions of language is sometimes taken as merely part of a general disregard of all law and tradition. This, however, is too extreme a statement of the case. It has been shown with a fair degree of certainty that Whitman was not willfully inconsiderate of law and order, that he thought he had before him the vision of a larger law than has been revealed to most men, a constructive philosophy of life which the diligent and the sympathetic may read in his verse. But granting this, in his choice of a means whereby to voice forth this philosophy of life, Whitman has fallen into a serious economic

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error. He has made the mistake of centering attention upon his form, much to the detriment of his matter. For besides the strangeness of the thought, even the sympathetic reader is confronted by an added and a considerable impediment in the outlandishness of the expression; only after the shock of surprise has passed away, after the linguistic misdemeanors have been forgiven and forgotten, can the thought receive full justice. Numerous examples of these stumbling blocks will come readily to mind. We cannot quote illustrations of his monstrous sentence structure, but in vocabulary we have such creations as *literatuses* (plural of *literatus*), *civilizee, discorrupt, cool-freshing breeze, me melted-word with sweat.* Whitman also frequently uses French and Spanish words, whether in correct or incorrect forms matters not to him, and he does this not because the French words are elegant, or are necessary to express a subtle meaning, nor even, as is sometimes said, because he holds the theory that the American population is heterogeneous and therefore American authors should use a polyglot vocabulary, French, Spanish, Polish, and all other outlandish words without restriction; he does it merely because the use of these foreign words is striking and unexpected. If we add to our list such horrid Latinisms and Gallicisms as: *O me imperturbe, I have not the delicatesse of a diplomat,* and others of their kind, we certainly justify the statement that Whitman had little respect for the language in which he wrote. His style is not the result of the scholar's care, or of the nice discrimination of the literary artist. He is merely gunning for attention with a big gun. We say the phrases or words are in bad taste; but they are worse than that, they are intentionally obtrusive and offensive. The author doesn't respect the language and your right and my right in the language. He says virtually, "Your attention or the life of the language." And whether you want to hear him or not, he takes the life of the language.

The second group to which I wish to direct attention is made up of those whom we may call the aristocratic users of language. This group consists of those speakers and writers who set up for themselves arbitrary standards of distinction in language. They do not aim to extend their uses over the whole linguistic body, because obviously as soon as that takes place their tests of distinction cease to have any value. On the other hand, they are not entirely individualistic; they aim rather to restrict their special usages to the limited number included within their own particular class or group. The satirical comedy of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries offers numerous historical examples of class vocabulary and language of the kind that has been described. The affected use of French words and phrases as marks of elegance will im-

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mediately come to mind. A less familiar illustration is the fashionable pronunciation of the vowel *o*, the faddist pronunciation of which in the time of Vanbrugh was *a*, the elegant Foppington regularly using such forms as *Lard* for *Lord*, *Tam* for *Tom*, *pasitively* for *positively*, besides his favorite exclamation, *Stap my vitals!* Swift, also, in his *Guide to Polite Conversation*, has recorded a number of the elegant affectations of his day. I need mention only one, the custom of abbreviating polysyllabic words by giving only their first syllables, as *pos* for *positively*, *hyps* for *hypochondriacs*, *rep* for *reputation*, *phiz* for *physiognomy*, and the puristical Dean's pet aversion, *mob* for *mobile*.

In contemporary English, the tendency is not lacking. Formerly, more than at present, the broad pronunciation of the vowel *a* was cultivated as a mark of social distinction. Richard Grant White tells us that "the full, free, unconscious utterance of the broad *ah* sound of *a* is the surest indication, in speech, of social culture which begins at the cradle." Absurd as it is, echoes of this opinion are still reverberating throughout the land. The affected pronunciation of *either* and *neither* as *eyther* and *neyther* may be mentioned as a further illustration. I do not mean to say that *eyther* and *neyther* are not natural and traditional pronunciations with some individuals, or in some communities. What I mean is that they are often affected by speakers to whom they are not natural because of notions of greater exclusiveness and elegance. A clergyman once confessed that he said *eyther* and *neyther* from the pulpit, although his native idiom was *either* and *neither*, because he thought that the language of the pulpit should be more choice and elegant than that of everyday speech. In the literary language, as well as in the spoken, this setting-up of standards of fine use is met with, the tendency toward preciosity and the use of inkhorn terms in general being a manifestation of it. In poetry especially, with its *eftsoons*, its *rathes* and its *erstwhiles*, the attempt to attain poetic quality through the use of mere class vocabulary is often pathetically obvious. Language need not, of course, be always commonplace or colorless. True distinction and elevation of thought and feeling naturally clothe themselves in exceptional language, the exceptional language being for them the fitting language. Of true poetic diction we are not speaking, but are directing our criticism against that sort of philistinism and insincerity which strives to hide native poverty of thought, and even to gain positive credit, by a display of conventional linguistic manners and tricks of expression.

The third group of the users of the language is perhaps the largest and most influential of all. We may class them under the general head of oligarchs, though by their other name they are known as purists. They

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consist of those who set up a standard of choice, rules of propriety, which they would impose upon others. Their theory of the linguistic body politic is that it should be governed by the few who know. They differ from the aristocrats in that they would make their legislation of universal application; but there is usually a tinge of aristocracy in the oligarch, an assumption of superiority over the ordinary person. Their platform is well expressed by one of them, the late Mr. Godkin, in the statement that to have and to keep an effective language, somebody must take care of it, must pass upon and regulate all changes in the language and all additions to it.

To the general proposition that the language must be cared for we offer no objection, and if, instead of somebody, Mr. Godkin had said that everybody must take care of it, we should heartily approve of the statement. But the weakness of the oligarch is that he assumes the responsibility for the language to himself and expects obedience to his paternal regulations from the common citizen. He removes the right and the duty of individual choice and places the power of direction in the hands of a few legislators, who are not even elected but are self-chosen. The reason why these self-chosen legislators feel called upon to assume the control of the language is always that they have one or more preconceived opinions as to the way in which language should be regulated. We have thus oligarchs or purists of various kinds. We have, for example, the literary oligarch. He accepts as correct only what he finds in "good authors," the good authors being naturally a more or less arbitrary selection of his own. He is, moreover, quite arbitrary in the use which he makes of his "good authors." He will accept the testimony of Addison in support of one use, but will refuse to accept it in another—say the construction *you was*—for which Addison is equally good authority. The logical result of literary purism carried to its conclusion would be Ciceronianism, that iron-bound system according to which every word, nay, every phrase and cadence, must have the authority of a precedent use in some "classic" author before it shall be enabled to pass the tribunal of the judges of good style. The English language and literature, however, happily show no tendency to submit to this sort of ossification.

A second class are those whom we may call the historical oligarchs. They observe the past history of constructions or words, and argue from this their present propriety or impropriety. They decree, for example, that *aggravating* cannot mean *annoying,* because it comes from Latin *ad* and *gravis,* in the face of the obvious fact that to the person who uses the word in the sense of annoying, and to the one who understands it in that sense, it means just that and nothing else. Indeed, the most ele-

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mentary study of the history of language shows the slight value of historical knowledge or fact in determining present use. A word means the idea which it calls up in the mind of the person to whom it is addressed. The study of etymology will often sharpen the outline of the idea, and is in that way helpful. But one who should use words or constructions in syntax in their historical senses would be landed in all sorts of absurdities.

In matters of pronunciation we have a third group of purists, whom we may call the orthographic oligarchs. Their principle of legislation is based on the spelling of the language, and their golden rule is "Speak as you write." The old-maidish pronunciation *at all* for *a-tall, good deal* for *good 'eal,* are familiar illustrations of this sort of purism. One person of my acquaintance, otherwise normal, uses and defends the pronunciation *sug-gest* for *su(g)gest* (perhaps thinking of the learned word *suc-cinct*), and it would be easy to find speakers who think they distinguish clearly between the combination *mpt* in *empty* and the combination *mt* in *warmth,* or between the second syllables of words like *nation* and *session.* But an elementary study of phonetics is enough to show the absurdity of most of the contentions of the orthographic oligarchs, and the history of English spelling easily proves that both "Speak as you write" and "Write as you speak" have been dead-letter laws for at least several centuries.

One other group is constituted by those whom we may call the consistency oligarchs. Their argument is speciously plausible, since analogical levelling as a result of the principle of consistency is constant in all living language. Yet when the principle is applied as a regulating one *de jure,* it again leads to manifest absurdity. We need not say *been* (like *bean*) because we say *green* and *seen,* nor *suggest* (*sugjest*) because we say *succinct* (*suksinkt*); neither need we make the spelling of *off* and *cough,* of *height* and *bite* consistent and uniform. We may do all these things if we are so inclined, but it behooves the consistent oligarch to look abroad in the world a bit before he enters upon any extensive reconstruction of language according to his theory.

A final group of linguistic oligarchs is made up of those who might be denominated blind oligarchs. The blind oligarch follows the statement of usage, or the actual uses, of some person or group of persons, preachers, teachers, or public men, of some book, dictionary, rhetoric or what not, which he formulates as law and then seeks to impose upon his own little oligarchy. The blind oligarch thus puts all the burden of responsibility for his laws upon the shoulders of his masters and devotes all his energies to the executive task of seeing that these laws are complied with. This

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attitude of mind toward language, both unreasoning and unobservant, is unintelligent in the highest degree. The uses of cultivated speakers and writers, of dictionaries and of other books, are certainly to be considered, but only as one makes use of all good helps and sources of information. The blind oligarch, like the historical and orthographic oligarch, is bound to fall into absurdity as soon as he pins his faith to one or two authorities, and the only thing which can save him is independence of observation and choice.

The three attitudes toward language which we have thus far spoken of, the anarchistic, the aristocratic, and the oligarchic, may all be described as anti-social in character. They emphasize the activity of the individual in opposition to, not in harmony with, the activity of the many. They differ thus far from the fourth and final class of the users of language, those who may be called the social democrats. The social democrat recognizes the right of the individual in the language, but only as that right is conditioned by his responsibility to the other members of the linguistic community. He avoids therefore the extreme of liberalism, on the one hand, the result of which would be license, and on the other, that extreme of conservatism which would set up arbitrary distinctions in language. He steers a middle course and unites himself to the great body of the normal, intelligent speakers and writers of the language. He neither assumes the burden of responsibility himself, nor places it upon the shoulders of a few arbitrarily chosen judges. In matters of language he sends his eye abroad and examines his whole linguistic surrounding. He observes here and there the little groups of the lawless, the polite and the precise; but he turns from these and directs his attention to that great body of the users of the language in which language lives and grows as it answers its immediate social needs, and of this body he endeavors to become a sympathetic and active member. His linguistic problems become then social problems, problems in social adaptation, changing continually as the social group and situation change, but offering always the same method of approach. In determining his linguistic sympathies, he will endeavor to keep his mind free from narrow theories and prejudices, from faddist and fashionable conceits, and will strive to place himself in such an attitude of mind as to be able to realize and to become a part of that central and broad movement in the life of the language by virtue of which language becomes a common social possession of a people, a record of its life and its being. It is here that he will find the feeling for the idiom preserved with a certainty and a sincerity that no amount of learned or æsthetic theorizing can impart. Fashions may come and fashions may go, theories

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may grow ancient and be replaced by new ones; but there is one thing which has gone on forever, and that is the continuous current of the main stream of the life of the language. From *Beowulf* to Chaucer, from Chaucer to Shakespeare, from Shakespeare to the present day, there has been an unbroken thread of life, a historical succession of the spirit which makes *Beowulf* more intimately the possession of the English language than it ever can be of the French, Italian, or even the German. How shall we find that thread of life in the language of to-day? For certainly it will be the desire of every one to follow its leadings wherever they may go, to become a part of the life of the present which is to be a part of the life of the future. In endeavoring to answer this question we may find light in a paragraph from Johnson's *Preface to Shakespeare,* in which he is discussing the language of Shakespeare's comedies:

> If there be, what I believe there is, in every nation, a style which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to the analogy and principles of its respective language as to remain settled and unaltered, this style is probably to be sought for in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without ambition of elegance. The polite are always catching modish innovations, and the learned depart from established forms of speech in hope of finding or making better; those who wish for distinction forsake the vulgar when the vulgar is right; but there is a conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides and where this poet seems to have gathered his comic dialogue.

"A conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides," what is this but the conversation of the great body of the normal intelligent members of the linguistic community, of those who care little for arbitrary and theoretical standards, but who, with open and unprejudiced minds, accept what is effective and expressive wherever they find it? Here, in this body, the speaker will find the source of authority for the colloquial speech, and to it the literary artist must always return as to the origin of all that is sane, expressive and beautiful in the language. In the end, he who wishes to settle the question of his responsibility toward the language, toward his fellows in the linguistic state, and toward those who shall come after him, must recognize the duty of an understanding of the linguistic will of this social body and the duty of an intelligent coöperation with it.

It may be objected that it is difficult to determine that happy middle ground above grossness and below refinement, that this is a matter of opinion concerning which we may have as many views as there are judges. And this, indeed, would have to be acknowledged. It is a matter of opinion. No sociologist, no psychologist, can formulate for us a hard

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and fast definition, with clearly defined upper and lower limitations, of any social class without first settling upon some arbitrary standard. But it is just this settling upon a preliminary standard of judgment which is contrary to the spirit of social democracy and which ignores the peculiar duty and opportunity of democracy. Democracy is not a specific for any set of social diseases, it is an attitude of mind. The problem which a democracy imposes upon its members is one of attaining a sufficiently liberal and self-expressive exchange of opinion to enable its members to realize themselves as a unified and self-determining body. It is a difficult problem, has perhaps never been solved, and in its completeness may never be satisfactorily solved. Its solution remains nevertheless a worthy ideal to strive toward. Those who seek shall find, because the will to seek is largely the finding, and the duty of seeking is one that is laid upon all alike, from the highest to the lowest. This also is the problem in social education which language proposes. Our doctrine of educated liberality, of social democracy in language, offers no test for the solution of any specific difficulty. It is not a rule, but rather a guide to action which shall aid the individual in gathering together the evidence upon which his specific decisions are to be based. As such it is the most valuable single aid that the student of language can have, for the worth even of a dogmatic rule cannot be tested except by the help of some such general principle. Moreover, it demands and cultivates sensitiveness of hearing, quickness and certainty of observation, ready wit in adapting language to varying circumstances, and, above all, openness and flexibility of mind, without which all other gifts are vain. It encourages that lively sense of language which is one of our social duties, and which nothing will help so effectually to preserve as the realization of the complexity and the infinitely possible variations of language in its social relations.

George Philip Krapp.

KOREA—AN EXAMPLE OF NATIONAL SUICIDE

BY EDWIN MAXEY

Professor of International Law in the University of Nebraska

As there is a tendency to censure Japan rather harshly for her recent change of relation toward Korea, a change from an advisory to that of a protecting State, fairness demands that before final sentence is passed we examine in something approaching a judicial manner the facts and the law in the case. An intelligent conclusion in such cases must always

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be preceded by a study of the conditions which necessitated action and of what has been done. Without such inquiry the decision is simply a guess prompted either by prejudice or by the general disinclination to suspend judgment. But if we are to perform properly the duties of a coroner's jury, it is necessary that we examine carefully the facts in order to reach a verdict as to whether Korea committed suicide or was feloniously slain by Japan.

For present purposes it is not necessary for us to go into ancient history. And fortunately so, for it is only during recent years that we have reliable records as to the acts of the Korean Government. But even if we had, the fitness of the recent Government to rule a people should be judged by its own acts, not the acts or character of its predecessors. It must also be judged with reference to present standards of fitness, for it is entirely conceivable that a government which at a certain period might be considered relatively good might at a later period, when conditions have changed, be considered relatively unfitted to rule, or even intolerable.

While a government's budget is not a conclusive test as to its fitness to rule, it is, nevertheless, valuable evidence as to the things upon which the government throws the emphasis; it gives an idea of the judgment of the government as to the relative value of things. Such being the case, it is well worth while examining the Korean budget. In glancing through this, one cannot fail to be struck by the fact that in the same budget in which $1,103,359 is appropriated for the "Imperial Privy Purse," $424 is appropriated for public works. When we find $1,000,000 appropriated for the funeral expenses of the Crown Princess and $27,718 for all public schools outside the capital, we cannot escape the conclusion that it overestimated the value of pageantry and, what is more serious, sadly underestimates the duty which a government owes to the people to promote a wide diffusion of intelligence. Such a disproportionate outlay evidences an exaggerated estimate of the value of pageantry and an abbreviated notion of the value of education.

A comparison between the amount expended for education and that for the support of the army is also suggestive. Korea has been expending annually over $5,000,000 on its army. Whatever justification there might be for expending so large a part of the total revenue upon an effective army, there certainly can be no justification for expending it in support of an ineffective one. The Korean army furnished neither protection for the country nor discipline for its members. A well-regulated army enforces a discipline that possesses some educative value. This is its redeeming feature in time of peace. But the Korean army does not

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even possess the virtue of enforcing discipline. When the Pingyang regiment was ordered to the front, its colonel assembled the soldiers and asked all those who wished to go to hold up their hands. Though this unique method of ordering troops to the front possessed the advantage of reducing the regiment to a size that was no longer unwieldy, it does not appeal even to civilians as being either practical or evidence of good military discipline, and there is little likelihood of its receiving the indorsement of military men. Yet, strange as it may seem, this is not an exceptional instance. It is a recognized practice in the Korean army for the soldiers to hold a mass-meeting and vote upon whether or not they will go where they have been ordered (*Korea Review,* January, 1904, p. 176). With such discipline, a group of soldiers is not an army but a mob, and for the protection which a mob furnishes a nation $5,000,000 a year is too high a price; for not only is it no protection, but it is an intensely demoralizing force. Even a well-disciplined army has a sufficiently demoralizing effect upon the community, but nowhere near so demoralizing as that of a mob. Such being the character of the Korean army, it does not surprise us to learn that the soldiers of Pingyang combined with the police for the purpose of elevating burglary to the rank of an honored profession, and incidentally increasing their income. When the governor remonstrated, they became indignant at his lack of appreciation of their purposes and the energy they displayed, and threatened to disband and leave the city without police or military protection (*Korea Review,* January, 1904, p. 30).

The expenditure of $450,604 per year for maintaining the Korean navy is not only indicative of bad judgment upon the part of the Government, but is conclusive evidence of graft, as the navy consists of but one old gunboat which would be practically useless in a fight. The Government might as well spend $450,000 a year on a wild-cat, as the latter would do more fighting and would afford equal opportunities for official graft. A government cannot make such expenditures without forfeiting self-respect and the respect of the people.

A review of the Korean Government's expenditure for its army and navy would not be at all complete without some reference to the Pension Bureau. A study of this bureau heightens the respect one has acquired for the practicality of expenditures by the Korean Government for the support of its army and navy. The Pension Bureau is maintained at an expense of $27,552 a year; and one can get an idea of the necessity of such an expenditure when he recalls that the bureau grants pensions to the amount of $1,956 a year. In other words, the Government considers it necessary to expend $14 a year in order to distribute $1. In some

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countries this would not be considered wise financial management, but in Korea it has the sanction of the Bureau of Propriety.

There are a large number of miscellaneous items in the budget which deserve a passing glance. $186,041 was appropriated for imperial "sacrifices." What benefit the people would derive from such an expenditure is something which baffles the ordinary mind. When we find an appropriation of $170,256 for palace guard and $87,978 more for a special palace guard, we cannot refrain from asking ourselves whether or not that work might not have been done by a regiment of the regular army, provided they would vote favorably upon it, or by the Seoul police force, maintained at an expense of about $300,000 a year. At any rate, it would seem that an expenditure of $250,000 for guarding the palace is disproportionate to the amount expended for national education. We find $19,560 appropriated for maintaining a Bureau of Ceremony and Bureau of Propriety. The Mining Bureau superintended no mines and submitted no report, but cost the State $15,742, half of which was for "travelling." A circulating library of greater utility could have been supported at less expense.

There is scarcely an item in the Korean budget which does not furnish unmistakable evidence of graft. When one finds such items as $650,000 for the burial of the Queen Dowager, $16,000 to $27,000 for the rental of an office in such a city as Seoul, $450,000 for maintaining an old gunboat, $1,158,000 for "incidentals," he is a dull fellow if he does not begin to suspect graft. While there is no government free from occasional grafting, in Korea grafting was the rule, not the exception; the whole system was permeated with graft.

But not only was there graft and foolish expenditure after the money was collected. The method of collecting it was one which discouraged all industry. The collection of taxes was farmed out to the highest bidder. As large sums had to be paid to the palace ring of sorcerers, eunuchs, fortune-tellers, ministers and courtiers for the privilege of collecting taxes, the collectors, in order to recoup themselves, resorted to extortion. If the taxpayer grumbled at this he was thrown into jail. He then had the privilege of appealing from the extortioner who put him there to those from whom the extortioner secured his office. The courts interposed no safeguard against extortion, as the judges secured their offices from the same clique as the tax collectors and other administrative officials. There was no such thing in Korea as an independent judiciary; it was completely dominated by the administrative branch of the Government. The person who was deprived of his property or liberty by administrative officers had therefore no recourse. Such conditions re-

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moved the incentive to industry and progress. Why should one do more than is necessary to secure a bare existence when he has no guarantee that more can be retained by him and when the acquiring of it may result in the loss of his liberty?

The following incident illustrates very well the respect shown for property rights and personal liberty by the Korean Government. A courtier proceeds to the home of a well-to-do Korean, and, having found the owner, says: "I am delighted to be the bearer of good news and a reward of merit. His Majesty the Emperor has graciously deigned to bestow upon you the decoration of the second class of the Order of the Plum Blossom, and to send it to you by my unworthy hand." Having thus manifested the interest which his Majesty takes in his subjects, he informs the newly made knight of the "Order of the Plum Blossom" that "the expenses connected with the bestowal of this high honor will be $5,000." As this sum would represent all the property he had, Sir Yong Ko He concluded that he could not afford the decoration upon these terms. Such ingratitude forced from his Majesty's royal messenger the exclamation: "Then you scorn the imperial gift and insult his Majesty by refusing to accept it!" And without waiting for his righteous anger to abate, he proceeded to have the sordid ingrate thrown into prison on a charge of *lèse-majesté*. To secure a trial was out of the question. His only alternative to remaining in prison was accepting the terms offered and becoming a penniless Plum Blossom Knight.

Far different was the kind of treatment accorded influential members of the palace clique. They were allowed to borrow dies from the government mint and coin nickels for their own use. They were also permitted to use their own discretion as to the number and fineness of these coins, so that while the standard nickel contains two cents worth of metal, those of the irregular mintage sometimes contained not more than half a cent's worth. It is well known upon whom the evil results of debasing the coinage fall. This is one of the cowardly ways adopted by rulers for robbing the people or causing them to be robbed.

Such was the condition of affairs when Japan attempted in 1904 to bring about administrative reforms through a resident general who should act as adviser. His position was similar to that occupied for years by Lord Cromer in Egypt. Under this arrangement the fiction of Korean independence was retained. The main reforms attempted by the Japanese were the following:

(1) Separation of the imperial household from the executive, with a view of the lessening of intrigue and the protection of ministers from the influence of eunuchs, sorcerers, spirit-mediums, and other hangers-on of the imperial court;

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(2) a reduction and reorganization of the expensive and absolutely useless Korean army; (3) a change in the financial system which would give real value and stability to the currency; (4) abolition of useless offices and a reduction in the number of the civil service employees; (5) a general increase in the salaries of officials, with a view to removing the excuse for administrative extortion; (6) education of the people; (7) adoption of sanitary measures; and (8) improvement of means of communication and development of the natural resources of the country.—*Outlook* for November 18, 1905.

Attempts to put into effect this eminently sensible programme of reform were met upon every hand by obstruction. The "Yangbans," or official class, were intolerant of reform — the old régime suited them. After three years of almost fruitless endeavor to improve the Korean administration and at the same time retain the fiction of Korean independence, it became evident to Japan that the plan was an unworkable one. Yet as she considered the reforms imperative she concluded that the only alternative was to disregard the fiction of Korean sovereignty for the substance of reform, and accordingly she has established a protectorate.

What then is the justification, if any, for the recent absorption of Korean sovereignty by Japan? The answer to this question depends entirely upon the point of view. If we pursue the dogmatic method of starting out with any one or all of the following assumptions—that "no man is fit to govern another man without that other man's consent," that "all government rests its authority on the consent of the governed," that "self-government, however bad, is preferable to government by another"—if we start out with these or similar assumptions, we must inevitably arrive at the conclusion that the position of Japan in Korea rests entirely upon force and has no moral justification. The difficulty with this method of procedure is that it assumes what is to be proven and then exults in having proved something.

At the risk of being considered sacrilegious I am going to question the correctness of the above gospel. Self-government is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end—the securing of conditions which enable the governed to realize the highest possible degree of happiness and usefulness in life. If self-government is an end, then the fact of its existence would be a realization of the end, regardless of the kind of self-government. If upon the other hand it is a means, it must be subjected to the ordinary tests for judging means, and this in each particular case, for the adaptability of means is something which is to be judged in the concrete, not in the abstract.

The attempt for centuries to escape this conclusion by asserting government to be of divine origin and hence not to be subjected to human

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tests, has now been pretty generally abandoned. We have with practical unanimity reached the conclusion that government must find its justification not in its form, or in its origin, but in the degree of service which it renders. In other words, government rests upon expediency. We cannot say whether a particular form is good or bad, justifiable or not justifiable, until we find out what it is doing. Nor is it sufficient to find out what it is doing in general; but we must, in order to determine whether or not it is justifiable in a given State, find out what it is doing in that particular State. For a given kind or form of government, like any other means to an end, may work well in one State and badly in another, and the fact that it works well in the one is not a sufficient justification for continuing it in the other. To illustrate: a plow is a means for putting soil in a better condition for raising a crop, but a given form or kind of plow might work very well in smooth soil which would not work well at all in stony ground. It would be nonsense to insist upon using it in the latter simply because it worked well in the former. A given form of knife, which we commonly call a razor, is very well adapted to the use to which it is generally put, but it would not be indicative of common sense to insist that because it works well in cutting beards it would therefore work well and should be used for trimming apple trees.

There is altogether too strong a tendency upon the part of most of us to consider government in the abstract rather than in the concrete, whereas all governing must be done in the concrete. We are too apt to conclude that because self-government sounds well in the abstract it will necessarily work well in all cases in the concrete. We are prone to consider some rules too sacred to admit of exceptions. And yet the great apostles of "consent of the governed," the men most quoted by the apotheosists of self-government, did not hesitate to make exceptions. At the same time that Thomas Jefferson was preaching the doctrine of "consent of the governed" he held slaves, and there is no record that he ever advocated giving them a voice in the government by extending to them the right of suffrage, neither did he protest against excluding from the electorate "Indians not taxed." For equally practical reasons, Lincoln, at the same time that he was championing the doctrine that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent, was insisting that the Union should govern the Confederacy regardless of its consent. He had sufficient faith in the conviction that the Federal Government knew better what was good for the Confederacy in the way of government than the Confederacy knew itself, so that he was willing to use the whole of the Federal forces for the purpose of enforcing his ideas.

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These men were not demagogues. They were not advocating the doctrine of self-government merely for the delectation of the rabble, but because they believed that upon the whole it was a sound principle of political science—a principle of far too great vitality to be destroyed by occasional variations from it, when these variations are rendered advisable by circumstances and prompted by practical common sense. The man who insists that there shall be no compromise in government in order to get the best that can be had under the circumstances, has secured his ideas of government from studying it in the abstract rather than observing it in the concrete. Burke was not far wrong when he said that "all government is a matter of compromise." But whether or not we can safely go that far, we can with entire assurance as to our correctness reach the conclusion that ideas of government, unlike the theorems of geometry, are not something which can wisely be worked out without regard to the conditions under which they are to be applied. The nations which have made the greatest progress in the art of government and to whom political science is most greatly indebted are those which have thrown the emphasis upon conditions rather than upon theories.

If, then, we may abandon the theory that self-government, however bad, is better than government, however good, by another, we are free to ask ourselves the question whether the Korean Government had not by reason of its failure to fulfil the prime objects for which governments are instituted—the protection of life, liberty and property—forfeited its claim of right to continued existence? For my own part I can see no justification for the existence of a government after it has failed to fulfil these fundamental requirements, as the Korean Government had, and has shown no capacity for regenerating itself and no inclination to accept advice as to necessary reforms.

In order that my conclusions with reference to the merits of the Korean Government may not be thought unnecessarily harsh, I submit the following conclusions reached by Mr. George Kennan after a careful study of the situation at close range. He says: "It takes from the people, directly and indirectly, everything that they can earn over and above a bare subsistence, and gives them in return practically nothing. It affords no adequate protection to life or property; it provides no educational facilities that deserve notice; it builds no roads; it does not improve its harbors; it does not light its coast; it pays no attention whatever to street-cleaning or sanitation; it takes no measures to prevent or check epidemics; it does not attempt to foster national trade or industry; it encourages the lowest forms of primitive superstition, and it corrupts and demoralizes its subjects by setting them examples of untruthfulness,

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dishonesty, treachery, cruelty and cynical brutality in dealing with human rights that is almost without a parallel in modern times." To this indictment I might add the more concise one by Mr. Gale, a Korean scholar of ability and ample opportunity for becoming familiar with the facts: "No government ever existed that was more infected with rottenness to the bones."

But it may be objected that the Korean nation had sufficient vitality to regenerate its government, however bad that government had become. The difficulty with this supposition is that it does not seem to be in accord with the facts. Those who by their disinterestedness and careful observation are in the best position to judge agree that "Korea presents a case, not of arrested development, but of disintegration and decay. Its civilization has not become stagnant, it has rotted." Time was when a country might remain isolated, and such conditions as existed in Korea a few years ago continue for years or even centuries; but for a country situated as Korea is, isolation is impossible in the twentieth century. The development of the means of communication has rendered national isolation a mere relic of the golden age. To some this may seem hard, but it is an accomplished fact.

With the possibility of isolation out of the question, it follows that when a State gets hopelessly out of joint with its environment and manifests neither the inclination nor the capacity to readjust itself to changed conditions, it must be pushed off the stage, as it is no longer performing a useful part. You may call this the "survival of the fittest" or what you will; it is a law which operates with States as with individuals; it is no respecter of persons, names or sentimentalities.

The work of establishing in Korea a government which will perform the functions for which governments are instituted having fallen to Japan by reason of her location and interests, it remains to be seen whether or not her work will justify her intervention. Even under the disadvantages of a residency she has succeeded in inaugurating some substantial reforms. The amount expended for education and for the encouragement of productive industries has been increased over a hundred-fold. Hospitals have been established and a conscientious attempt made at police reorganization. Reforms of far-reaching effect have been begun in the administrative and judicial departments. A loan of 10,000,000 yen has been secured for the building of wagon roads and a greater amount has been expended in the building of railroads. Over 50,000,000 yen have been expended in the building of water-works. But reforming by means of advice against the wishes of a government in which the dominant class are opposed to change as such is a most difficult task

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—so difficult, in fact, that it would soon become intolerable. The change to a protectorate was as inevitable in Korea as in Egypt. It was perhaps a mistake to have attempted to govern through the medium of a residency rather than declaring a protectorate at the close of the Russo-Japanese War. Now that a protectorate has been established we may look for more rapid progress.

Edwin Maxey.

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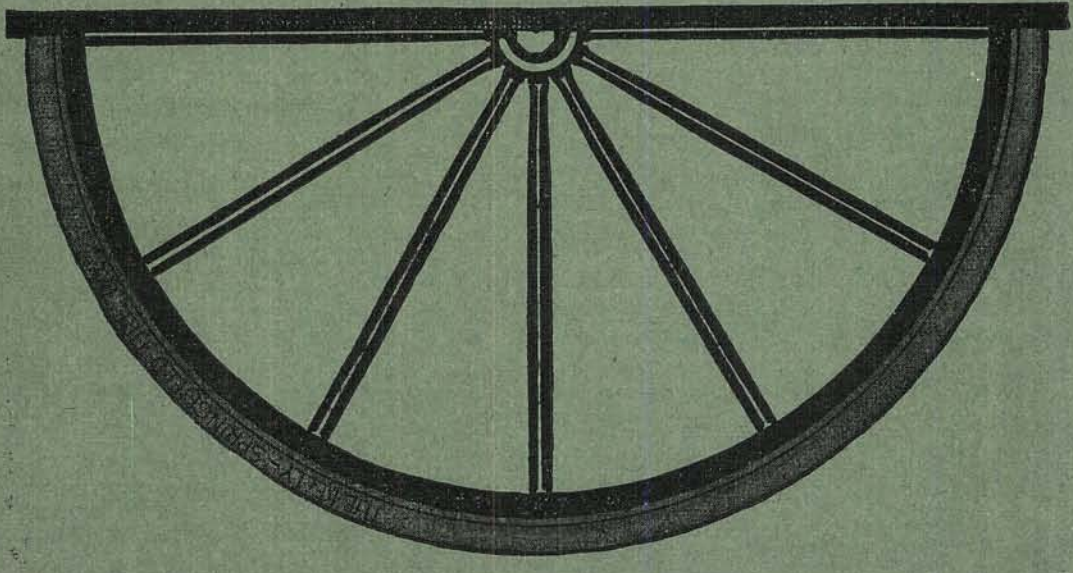

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